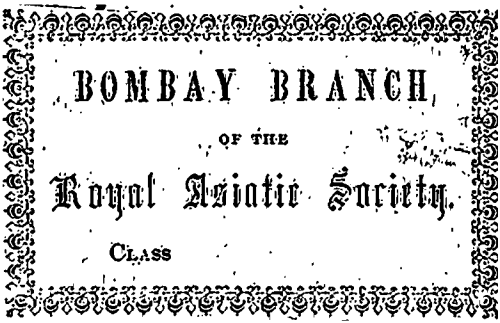

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RECOLLECTIONS

OF

WEST-END LIFE;

WITH

SKETCHES OF SOCIETY IN PARIS, INDIA, &c. &c.

£5941

BY

MAJOR CHAMBRE,
LATE 17TH LANCERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Bahia—The Bay of All Saints—Planters and Brazilian beauties—A black speculation—Limited liability—The iron collar—The blind traveller—Prince Regent of Portugal—Rupture with the mother country—Whalers—Religious procession—Yellow fever—Rio Prata mixture, strongly recommended to all snuff-takers—Snakes—The negro Soyer—Loggerheads—Convent—Florist nuns—Fine wood . . . . . pp. 1—25

CHAPTER II.

Currency question: Money-market tight: paper at a discount—Sail in the *Samarang* frigate, Captain Charles Paget, to Rio—Albergo Imperiale—"How now! a rat?"—Midnight assassins—"Horror on horrors accumulate"—Great atrocity—Bay of Rio—San Christoval—Negro prison—Pic-nic at the cascade of Tijuca—Solitude of the forests—Passage of the lake—A marine and myself in difficulty—Gold escort—Scene worthy of the pencil of Salvator Rosa—Brigands—Funeral—Negro bell-ringer—Burning the dead . . . . . pp. 26—47

CHAPTER III.

Destruction of forests—Threatened revolution—Native music—Pernambuco—Tooth-drawing extraordinary—Olinda—Departure: "Old England on the lee"—Bruges—A *tale* of a comet

—Appointed to a barrack-mastership in Jamaica—Effect produced on the atmosphere of Great Britain by oceanic currents—Port Royal harbour—Kingston—Up Park camp—Picturesque scenery—Laughable occurrence—Expensive lodging-houses—Ordered to the north side of the island . . . pp. 48—72

CHAPTER IV.

Gigantic cotton trees—Spanish Town—Dilapidated state of the buildings—Public edifices—West Indian regiments—Diabolo mountain—Dainty dish: roasted green parrots—Monigue—"The Lady of the Lake"—Parish of St. Ann's—St. Ann's Bay—A white squall—Melancholy accident—Columbus—Rio Bueno—Hospitality of a stranger—Cardiff Hall estate—Remarks on the Island of Jamaica—Cuba bloodhounds: "The game is on foot, boys; we'll hunt down *maroons*"—Training bloodhounds—The Rev. Horace Moulton—Negro hunting . . . . . pp. 73—96

CHAPTER V.

Montego Bay—Nature a sculptor—A negro's hospitality—Mosquito Cove—Fire-flies—A fitting spot for Queen Titania's court—Lucea—Domestic servants: "The greatest plague in life" not confined to England—Lucea fever—A negro graveyard—Military statistics—The mortality of Up Park camp in 1820—My view of the causes of yellow fever—Old Retrieve—Rum punch—The sugar-cane—Sir Charles Price's rats, pp. 97—121

CHAPTER VI.

Hygeia: Morrison's pills at a premium—Slaves treated as chattels—Special magistrates—The conch-shell—Observations on negro children—Atmospheric phenomena—Mangoes—Melancholy scenes at Lucea barracks—Uncultivated land—Quiniferous cinchona—Labour—Uneasy state of the apprentices—Appraisement of labourers—Conversations with the black population—Their gratitude—The American consul's opinion of emancipation . . . . . pp. 122—146

CHAPTER VII.

Marriage — Dress — Seven-story cake — Enormous canoe — The *fête* of the Reds and the Blues—Capture of a slaver—The appearance of the slaves, and their treatment when landed —Horrible incident—The middle passage—Fisherman's slave hut—Cuba pirates—Attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers— Letter from Lord Vivian—State of Jamaica during the years 1838, 1839, 1840—Missionaries—The Established Church —Dissenters and their flocks . . . . . pp. 147—168

CHAPTER VIII.

Obeism—Sacred music—Baptist ministers: their influence over the people—The House of Assembly decides on freeing the apprentices in August, 1838—Suspension of labour—Bad advice from the pulpit—Emancipation—Admirable conduct of the apprentices — Saving habits of the peasantry — Negro houses and grounds—Mismanagement of the island agents— The French profit by our experience . . . . pp. 169—192

CHAPTER IX.

Sir Lionel Smith—Produce of sugar—Sir Charles Metcalfe—Immigration of labourers—Division of the soil—Value of property —The *Iconomist*—*Jeu d'esprit*—Characteristic advertisements—Leave Jamaica . . . . . pp. 193—215

CHAPTER X.

The *General Marion* schooner—An Italian traveller—Curious tradition — Ancient household gods — Waterspouts — The heights of Neversink—New York—Overpowering heat— Wellington's old steward—Madame de La Vallette—Americanisms—The Hudson river—National militia—Return home—*Bon mot*—Sent by Lord Vivian into Wales—Stores —Present system of contract—Gibraltar—The Rock—Smuggling . . . . . pp. 216—238

CHAPTER XI.

Casemated barracks—Serious illness: ordered home by a medical board—Appointed to Ireland—Leave the Ordnance—Join the militia—Aldershott: life in the huts—Hadji Baba's English—Formation of the club—Goodwood—An old fox-hunter: his epitaph—Captain Charles Hesse—The Queen of Naples—Fatal duel—The last days of Almack's—The lady patronesses—Rules of admission . . . . . pp. 239—265

CHAPTER XII.

Episode in the career of a Crimean officer—An unexpected rencontre—Romance of real life—Leave Aldershott for Clonmel—Conclusion . . . . . pp. 266—288

RECOLLECTIONS

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CHAPTER I.

Bahia—The Bay of All Saints—Planters and Brazilian beauties—A black speculation—Limited liability—The iron collar—The blind traveller—Prince Regent of Portugal—Rupture with the mother country—Whalers—Religious procession—Yellow fever—Rio Prata mixture, strongly recommended to all snuff-takers—Snakes—The negro Soyer—Loggerheads—Convent—Florist nuns—Fine wood.

I WAS very anxious to enter the southern hemisphere; and when the captain had taken the altitude of the sun, and made his calculations to determine our latitude, he entirely forgot to look which way the sun fell, so that he could not tell me for a whole day whether we were to the north or the south of the Line. When we sat down

to dinner, I was not a little amused, after all I had heard of the elegance of the table, to see him take off his coat, tuck up his sleeves, and, with a pocket clasp-knife, cut up whatever was served. He was fond of talking politics—a subject I try to avoid with foreigners—and he would fight over all the naval battles of the last war. It appeared that he had been in command of a privateer, and had been taken by some cruiser, which carried the vessel and crew into Portsmouth, where he was sent to one of the hulks as prisoner of war. After a long confinement, he nearly succeeded in escaping, but, floundering in the mud, he was discovered and recaptured. These floating prisons—or *pontons*, as the French call them—were at all times a very sore subject with his countrymen for many years after the peace of 1815, but are now nearly forgotten.

The Lieutenant was a melancholy man, who evidently did not much like his *métier*. He had been a long time employed in the coasting trade of Central America, in some small vessel, and told me lugubrious tales of the hardships he had

undergone—one of which I remember was having been obliged, when short of fresh provisions, which happened frequently, to eat roasted monkeys. He was continually drinking sage tea, which he considered a sovereign remedy for all the ills to which humanity is subject; and quoted a saying of the Chinese, to the effect that he who takes that beverage in sufficient quantities, will live a hundred years.

For six weeks I had no other society but that of these two individuals, and I was by no means sorry when the coast about Bahia became visible. A large dog we had on board had evidently scented land long before we saw it, and remained looking over the gangway with unmistakeable signs of pleasure in his countenance for many hours. Some birds, too, of beautiful plumage, took refuge in our rigging. Our dead reckoning was again all wrong, for according to the captain's calculations, we were at noon on that day 150 miles up the country. There was a large vessel in-shore of us, which bore down towards the *Ceres*, and very nearly ran into her; the bowsprit grazing the

poop, and smashing one of our boats in the davits. My French friends, seeing it was an English frigate, and expecting a collision, were half frantic with rage, and spared no vile epithet or abuse of the English lubbers, as they called them. I had considerable difficulty in pacifying them. We ascertained where we were, however, and stood out to sea, to weather a large shoal that extends some miles from the shore, near to the entrance of the harbour, and at night sailed into the Bay of Bahia, hearing, but not seeing, breakers on either side of us.

As soon as the morning dawned, I went out of my cabin to look about me, and found myself in one of the finest harbours it is possible to imagine. I should think it would hold all the navies of Europe; and, in extent, it considerably exceeds that of Rio de Janeiro. There are shoals, however, in many parts, which would not admit of large vessels anchoring on them; but the sumacas and small boats that bring produce from the mouths of the rivers in the Bay, can do so safely. That part of the harbour where

men-of-war and merchantmen usually lie is protected by three forts, one of which, called Forteim-do-mar, is built upon a rocky islet. Itaperica is an island about twenty-three miles in length, forming one side of the entrance by which we passed, and is on the southern side of the Bay.

We were at anchor not far from the lower town, and to our right rose the heights of Vittoria, about 650 feet above the level of the sea. Here the principal families have their quintas, with gardens about them; and at the extremity of the town is a fine promenade, called the Passeio Publico, extending a considerable distance towards, and overlooking, the Atlantic Ocean. Here alleys of trees, collected from all parts of the world, are planted, and parterres of rare plants and flowers of brilliant hues embellish the grounds. A strong fort stands near the garden, and is intended to protect the town on the land side. In 1822, when Brazil declared itself independent of the mother country, the Portuguese General, Madeira, in command of the province, retained possession of Bahia, in spite of all the efforts of the Brazilian forces to dislodge

him, until the month of July, 1823, when he surrendered to the besieging army, and ceded the last stronghold of Portugal in her former colony. The anniversary of this emancipation from foreign rule is celebrated every year with more or less *éclat*, and on that day there was an appropriate spectacle at the theatre in Bahia, which I attended. Two or three Brazilians recited poems of their own composition from the boxes, between the acts, and various national songs were sung, to celebrate the valour of the Brazilian warriors.

I often afterwards went to the public garden, but rarely met with any of the inhabitants of Vittoria. It seemed greatly neglected, and in many places I found large ant-hills, of which we have no idea in Europe. It was quite curious to witness the indefatigable activity of these insects, and, in comparison with their size, the heavy burdens they bore to their cells. The Bay contains some islands, and several rivers flow into it, which are navigable for fifteen or twenty miles inland, a great deal of produce being brought down by them from the interior.

As soon as I could collect my baggage, I landed in the lower town, which I found dirty and badly kept, the narrow streets running parallel to the water, and most of the houses occupied as stores or warehouses. Negroes were pounding tobacco into a snuff resembling the Irish Lundy Foot, and there was a great deal of bustle and noise, from slaves bringing goods in carts drawn by bullocks to the wharves; so that, hearing of a hotel at Vittoria kept by a Portuguese, I installed myself in it for the time I remained in Bahia; but, although there were many drawbacks to comfort in his establishment—such as a bad kitchen, in which garlic was a principal ingredient—I had no great cause to complain of my board and lodging. The charges at first sight appeared enormous, as everything is calculated by thousand reis, an imaginary coin, or perhaps something like the American cent.

My relatives, who were staying in a friend's house, cordially welcomed me, and I no longer felt a stranger in a strange land. We talked over my projected establishment, and a day or two after-

wards rode out to see the property intended for me. The country was beautiful; the soil appeared very rich, and the situation salubrious; but before coming to a final decision on the subject, I thought it better to learn something more of the province, its produce, and its prospects. It was fortunate that I did, for, from what occurred afterwards, I might have been involved in considerable difficulties, if I had settled there permanently. Although there is so large a field for enterprise in the Brazils, it has hitherto been comparatively overlooked. Here and there you may meet with a few planters, but there are scarcely any English who have either bought or leased properties with a view of cultivating them. There are many, on the contrary, established as merchants in the leading seaport towns, such as Rio, Pernambuco, and Bahia. There is something very striking in landing for the first time in the New World. One's ideas involuntarily go back to those days when Columbus, and, after him, Americus Vespucius, discovered these distant lands, rich in every production, and only requiring a sufficiency of

labour and energy to make them the garden of the world. At the time I arrived in the province, the population amounted to something like 900,000 souls, a very great proportion of whom were slaves. This preponderance of the negro race may some day or other lead to results which no one now can foresee, unless a more active immigration from Europe re-establishes something like an equilibrium between the free and the slave population. The district immediately extending round the Bay, and for twenty or thirty miles inland, is called the Reconcave, and it is very fertile, producing mandioca, rice, sugar, cotton, and many valuable woods for cabinet-work and dyeing.

In Vittoria, the streets are not very broad, although there is one grand square, called the Praça da Parada, on which stands the Governor's Palace, the Town Hall, and Supreme Court of Justice. The houses—with the exception of those occupied by the wealthier classes, which are mostly built of stone—are low, and of mean appearance. The windows all have jalousies, and the doors open in the middle, so that the inmates can rest

their elbows on them, and watch the passers-by. This they always do in the early morning, before the great heat of the day; and the females are then to be seen, their hair carefully and tastefully dressed, with fresh flowers in it, until the sun has risen sufficiently high to render it necessary to close everything, and, by excluding its rays, to keep the interior dark and cool. During the day, these same women employed their time in making sweetmeats, such as Guava marmalade, which they sent out for sale on trays, carried by their negro slaves.

In a street leading from the Praça da Parada is a church belonging to the College of the Jesuits, which is dignified by being called the Cathedral, and contains a few good pictures, besides a great deal of fine gilding. There is also a library—not an extensive one—attached to the College itself; and the building being on a large scale, a portion of it has been taken by the authorities, and converted by them into a Military Hospital.

The Bahia negroes are the finest race of blacks I ever saw, and are very different to those of Rio

de Janeiro, being tall, athletic, and good-looking. They were all brought from the north of the Equator, those from other parts of the African coast not finding a ready sale in the province. Some negresses I saw were really handsome, and, like all coloured people, were very graceful in their deportment. Their usual dress was a white embroidered petticoat, a cambric handkerchief in form of a turban on the head, and muslin drapery over the shoulders, with a peculiar black silk plush shawl, draped in a very becoming manner. Although the British cruisers seized every slave-vessel they came across, still, owing to the immense profits derived from a successful venture, numerous cargoes of Africans were landed on the Brazilian coast, and at Bahia I saw many boys and girls for sale.

There was a French medical man residing in Vittoria, who was making a great deal of money in a very singular manner. He had got a sort of Maison de Santé, or convalescent establishment, in the neighbourhood; and whenever he heard of sickly negroes that the owners wished to dispose

of, he purchased and sent them to it. There, his professional skill, less work, and better living, often restored them to health; and when they were perfectly recovered, looked in good condition, and were fit for hard labour, he brought them into the market for sale, realizing considerable profits by the transaction. It was rather a questionable mode of making money, but he justified it on the ground that, as they were already slaves, and that, through his instrumentality, they were benefited to a certain extent by relief from physical suffering, there was no moral wrong in sending them back to the same condition of life they had previously filled.

I believe the most unhappy of all that oppressed race, the negroes, are those who are the property of petty proprietors, or shopkeepers, as they have not the means of supporting them as they ought, besides requiring more work to be done than they can properly perform. Much, too, depends upon the individual character of the master or mistress; and in some cases I suspect a good deal of cruelty was exercised towards these unfortunate dependents, as I occasionally heard their shrieks when

they were being flogged for some trivial offence. When a slave ran away, in addition to severe punishment, if caught, he was obliged to wear an iron collar, with a long spike rising straight up from it, which was riveted round the neck. I always thought this a very irksome if not painful punishment, besides distinguishing the wearer from his or her fellows in a manner to hurt their feelings. I saw several women with these collars, and always pitied them very much.

The slave-trade is now abolished in the Brazils, but when it existed, Bahia was one of the ports from which more slavers sailed than any other; and I heard of one individual, the owner of many vessels—amongst others, the well-known *Black Joke* —who had at one time nearly 4000 negroes for sale. He disposed of them to planters at high prices, receiving in exchange sugar, cotton, and other produce. The principal food of the slaves is carne seco—that is, strips of bullocks' flesh, dried in the sun till it becomes as hard as leather—for which there is always a great demand at Buenos Ayres. Before it can be used, it must be soaked for a con-

siderable time; and even then it must be very indigestible, and certainly not a very nutritious diet, although, in addition to the meat, a certain quantity of farina is always issued to the slaves by the owners.

Lieutenant Holman, the blind traveller, came about this time to Bahia, and his long white beard gave him a venerable appearance, which seemed to strike the negroes very much. With his usual activity and intelligence, he visited the churches, accompanied by some one who took the measurement of the buildings, and answered all his queries. His powers of observation appeared not to have been affected by the loss of its organs, and, to use the touching expression of a great French writer, who suffered from a similar affliction—"*Il avait fait amitié avec les ténèbres.*"

The province furnishes, as I have before said, beautiful wood for many purposes; but the country being mountainous in the interior, and there being no roads, there is great difficulty in bringing any of it to the Bay for embarkation. In my time, there was but one road (for the beaten tracks by

which produce is brought are not worthy of the name) in all the province of Bahia, and that was about two miles in length, from the town itself. There were only two carriages in Bahia—one belonging to the Archbishop, and the other to my relative. The latter had the same sort of conveyance that may be seen at the present day in Lisbon, and both were drawn by mules, harnessed in a curious old-fashioned manner, and driven by black postilions. The Archbishop's turn-out put me in mind of some of the old wood-cuts of carriages in the early editions of "Gil Blas de Santillane." Palankeens were in general use in lieu of them, and were better adapted to the locality, the ascent from the lower town being steep.

It was at Bahia the Prince Regent of Portugal landed in 1808, when taken there by Sir Sidney Smith on the French approaching Lisbon. He was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants, who offered to build him a palace if he would make it his permanent residence. He went, however, to the house of my relative's father, who was the leading personage in

the province. Political considerations decided the Prince to make Rio de Janeiro the capital of his transatlantic colony; and it became, *de facto*, that of the Portuguese monarchy from the moment that he went there. In point of fact, it is from the same time that the independence of Brazil may be dated. The stimulus given to trade by the presence of the Court promoted internal improvement, particularly in forming a national character and feeling, before unknown in the provinces.

In December, 1815, Brazil was designated by a new title, as the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Previously to this, there had not been much communication between the various provinces, and they were held together by no stronger ties than a similarity of language. In 1821, Don Juán revisited Lisbon, at the request of the Portuguese Cortes, appointing his son, Don Pedro, Prince Regent of Brazil. In October, 1822, the Brazilians, provoked by the impolitic conduct of the Royal Government in Europe, proclaimed Don Pedro Emperor, and finally estab-

lished their independence. He gave them a very liberal constitution; and it is now not only the most stable Government of South America, but is likely to become much more powerful hereafter.

I have given this short sketch of the origin of the Brazilian Empire, as little is known of it by the generality of persons, there being few who take much interest in such remote territories.

Formerly there were numerous whales on the coast, but at present, owing to the great destruction of them by American and native whalers, there are not many left. They used to come into the Bay itself, and do so now occasionally. One morning I witnessed a very exciting chase after one, and I followed the boats for a long time with my glass, until I lost sight of them round a headland, which prevented me from ascertaining the result. They have a curious description of raft on the coast, where the surf runs high, which, from its peculiar construction, cannot be capsized, and on it they even venture out of sight of land. It is a triangle of beams of wood, through which passes

a rudder, and it has a mast also, on which a square sail can be hoisted. This apparently frail embarkation is very safe, as it floats like a cork, and tops the waves, however high they may be.

I was one day agreeably surprised by witnessing a religious procession, which was got up with great splendour, and was probably the counterpart of similar ceremonies in Spain and Portugal at the time of the discovery of the New World. The statues of the Virgin and many Saints, adorned with precious stones, were carried by priests in sumptuous vestments; and numerous children, dressed as angels, with long wings formed of the most beautiful feathers, and garments of silver and gold tissue, followed and surrounded them. There was the Archangel Gabriel, too, in a rich armour; and what with the multitude of strange costumes, and the music, I never saw anything, even in Rome, that was more striking, or exceeded it as a religious spectacle.

I always thought the nights singularly beautiful in the southern hemisphere. Owing to the purity of the air, perhaps, many more stars are visible

than to the north of the Equator, and they shine with peculiar brilliancy; not the least remarkable amongst them being the Cross of the South, which is as perfectly formed as that said to have been seen by Constantine in times of old. The fresh air, too, comes charged with an aromatic odour from the plants and rich vegetation it passes over. I spent most of my evenings out of doors, and never found it injurious, although it was the rainy season at the time; but the yellow fever was then unknown. Since, however, it has prevailed to an alarming extent.

It is supposed to have been brought over to Rio de Janeiro by some vessel from the coast of Africa. After carrying off vast numbers of all ranks in the capital, it gradually extended its ravages, and followed the entire line of coast, where it occasionally shows itself, and is probably now become naturalized and endemic. I believe many serious maladies have been brought from the African coast. Leprosy is not unknown amongst the negroes, who often suffer from diseases of the skin; and I have seen a disease I think they call

"yaws," which may be some modification of it. There is still a Lepers' Hospital, well endowed, near Bahia, and it must have been a complaint that afflicted the population to a considerable extent, or it would not have been built, and funds granted for its support.

Amongst the residents at Vittoria was a Swiss gentleman, who had accumulated a large fortune by the manufacture of snuff, and distilling cachas (white rum) from molasses. The former is an imitation of that sold in Lisbon, called Princesa, of which the Government has a monopoly; and, as is the case wherever monopolies exist, great quantities of Brazilian manufacture are smuggled into Portugal. The white rum goes to Trieste and Holland, and is there used to make Maraschino, Curaçoa, and other liqueurs.

In the interior of the province, beyond and around the district of Reconcave, the country is mountainous, interspersed with valleys and rich plains, which, during the rainy season, produce luxuriant pasturage, and cattle thrive there rapidly. Notwithstanding this, the herds are anything but

numerous,—for there comes a drought at times, and then, as the grass is burnt up, nothing remains for the cattle but branches of shrubs or trees to feed on; and there being no water away from the rivers, a great mortality amongst them naturally ensues.

In the forests, which produce such valuable wood, there are many curious parasitical plants, which go by the general name of timbo. These plants twist themselves round the trees, and ultimately destroy them. They throw out branches which grow downwards and take root in the ground, and their shoots become interlaced, forming a sort of network, which renders the forests almost impenetrable, as the timbo bends, but will not break. There are immense snakes in marshy places—amongst others, the boa constrictor; and a merchant in Bahia assured me he never was so frightened in his life as one day that he went out shooting, and, feeling fatigued, sat down on what he thought was the stump of a tree, until it moved, and he discovered that what he had mistaken for decayed timber was a huge snake. He made a hasty retreat, too happy to have escaped so great a danger. These animals

must arrive at a great age, as they are not disturbed in their lonely swamps. When they are killed, however, the natives use their skins to make boots and shoes or slippers. I saw many for sale, and brought home a pair of the latter, as a great curiosity in their way.

The English frigate we met coming into the Bay was stationed there, and one day my relative invited the officers to a *déjeuner dinatoire*. He, of course, had the best cooks in the place to arrange it, and they were scientific in their respective departments. One, however, who had charge of a turkey to be roasted, gave me an excellent idea of a negro's patience and power of resisting heat. Instead of lighting a fire in the shade, he made it in a sunny spot, for they are very fond of cooking out of doors. He then cut a stick to a point, and with it spitted the bird, holding it to the fire until it was as well roasted as it would have been before an English kitchen-range. I remember it was a long time that the process lasted, during which he sat on his heels, and merely threw a cotton handkerchief over his head, appearing perfectly satisfied

to be left where he was, undisturbed. Fortunately, nature has provided the negro with a thick skull and woolly hair, which latter being a non-conductor of heat, guarantees him from *coups de soleil.*

Talking of their heads puts me in mind of a fight I witnessed between two of them. They butted each other like rams; and when their skulls came into collision, they rebounded as a ball would from a wall. I expected all the time to see one or both of them split open; but when they had enough of it, they did not seem to suffer even from headache.

I one day accompanied the officers of the frigate to a convent in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of buying some feather-flowers, from which the Sisters derive a considerable revenue. They are made of natural feathers, and the colours are much more brilliant, and finer, than any imitation of them. On arriving at the convent, we were shown into a large hall, on one side of which was an iron grating; and the Lady Superior told us, through the bars, to wait where we were, and she would send us some bouquets to choose from. Presently

in came four or five brown girls, with baskets on their heads filled with every kind of feather-flowers, which they emptied before us on the ground. We each made our selection, and then entered into conversation with the old lady behind the bars for the purchase of them. She drove a hard bargain with all of us, and there was no possibility of reducing her demands. We ended by taking a large quantity, which were duly appreciated when I returned to England.

Brazil, when first discovered by Cabral, was called the Land of the Holy Cross; and I do not know whether it was from the constellation which goes by that name, or from other causes—neither do I know why or when it was called Brazil, in lieu of it. The latter is supposed to be derived from Braza, a wood which abounds in the country. To such a size do trees arrive in this favoured climate, that a sumaca hollowed out of the trunk of one of them went all the way from Para to Rio de Janeiro. The sugar for exportation is put into large wooden boxes, and I should not be surprised if many of them might be employed for articles of

furniture, as they may possibly be formed of planks sawn out of fine native timber. I have never had an opportunity of ascertaining how far my surmises are correct, but I may not be altogether wrong. When sugar remains on hand in the plantations, they make it into cakes, called rapadoura, which are consumed in the country.

CHAPTER II.

Currency question: Money-market tight: paper at a discount—Sail in the *Samarang* frigate, Captain Charles Paget, to Rio—Albergo Imperiale—"How now! a rat?"—Midnight assassins—"Horror on horrors accumulate"—Great atrocity—Bay of Rio—San Christoval—Negro prison—Pic-nic at the cascade of Tijuca—Solitude of the forests—Passage of the lake—A marine and myself in difficulty—Gold escort—Scene worthy of the pencil of Salvator Rosa—Brigands—Funeral—Negro bell-ringer—Burning the dead.

It became necessary, from my relative's approaching departure for the capital, that I should come to some determination either to take or refuse the property offered me. I felt convinced that, with enterprise and capital, it was capable of producing great results, being at a moderate distance from the Bay. On the other hand, I knew that I should be so completely isolated from society, that, with all its advantages in a pecuniary point of view, I had considerable hesitation in accepting it.

Whilst in this state of uncertainty, news arrived of an outbreak in the neighbouring province of Pernambuco, and further disorders were anticipated in the south. I could not form a correct estimate of these disturbances, nor could I be sure what might be the result of them if successful. I thought, at all events, that if disorder spread, and the Executive became powerless, anything like an undertaking which involved an outlay of capital might be seriously compromised, and possibly irreparably injured. I therefore took the wiser course, as I imagined, and declined the proffered estate. It was arranged that, as I was actually in the Brazils, it would be better I should see more of the country before I returned to Europe, and the offer of a passage in Captain Paget's frigate, the *Samarang*, decided me to visit Rio. Before doing so, I went to a merchant, on whom I had a letter of credit, to get some money in exchange for a bill on Europe. I asked for gold and silver; he offered me paper and copper. At this time the paper currency was greatly depreciated, and coin was at a premium, so that between the two I was consider-

ably embarrassed. At last, however, I took a certain quantity of notes, and the remainder in copper money of the country. To my great surprise, I found the latter filled six large bags, which I could not carry, and I was obliged to get negroes to convey them to the hotel. In Rio I got rid of my burthen, and the paper currency also, but at a considerable loss.

My readers will probably think that I have given but a meagre account of the province of Bahia; but as my residence there was not of long duration, and I am not desirous of stating anything that did not come under my own observation, I prefer curtailing my narrative to inserting much that might very probably be incorrect, or previously well known. Suffice it to say, then, that I left Bahia with a conviction that, whenever the country shall have become populated in proportion to the wants of the soil, it must, from its favourable geographical position, its rich soil, and magnificent harbour, become one of the most flourishing portions of the Southern Continent of America.

Vessels bound to the southward always keep well out to sea, to avoid the headland of Cape Trio, on which the *Thetis* frigate was lost a short time before I went to Bahia. We consequently did the same, and made the land about Rio towards sunset, when the sea breeze drops and the land wind comes off the shore. The following morning we set every sail the ship could carry, and ran before a fine breeze into the harbour. The manner in which the frigate was handled, when we came to an anchor, excited my admiration. Notwithstanding the immense spread of canvas we carried, every stitch of it was taken in and made snug before the smoke of the guns that were fired to salute the Admiral's flag cleared away. As far as outward appearances went, a spectator would have imagined we had been there some time; and all this was done without the slightest noise or confusion.

I bade adieu to my kind friends on board with considerable regret, and went at once to the Albergo Imperiale, an hotel opposite the Emperor's Palace, on the square, where every one lands

from the shipping. A flight of stone steps leads down to the water's edge, and close to them there is, or was, a sewer which discharges itself into the sea, creating a more abominable stench, almost under the Palace windows, than those which fall into the Thames above Blackfriars. I do not know whether this nuisance has been remedied since my time; but if it has not, it must have been a perfect hot-bed of disease when the late fever prevailed to such an extent amongst the ships at anchor off the city.

Although the hotel I inhabited was the principal establishment of the kind in Rio, my bed-room was very poorly furnished. Pleased, however, to find myself once more on dry land, I went to bed earlier than usual, looking forward to a quiet night's rest. Soon after I had put my candle out, I thought my room must be haunted. My glasses were upset, boots pulled about, and there were strange noises all around me. I was not kept long in suspense, however, for I felt something running over my bed, and at last over my face, and to my horror I found myself in company with

numerous rats, which for size are unequalled, except, I believe, in Cadiz. Not knowing what to do for the best, I drew the sheet over my head, not to come in contact with them, knowing that if I struck one, they would attack me *en masse*. I remained in this disagreeable position for fully an hour, when I suddenly heard cries, and a disturbance in the room below, which led me to suppose that some people in it were quarrelling. By degrees everything became quiet, and then again I heard the sound of many voices. Presently there was a knock at the door, and in walked the landlord, who came to make inquiries after me, hoping that I had not been kept awake by the noise, and he explained what had happened.

Two Germans had taken an apartment in his house, under mine, and they had opened an office for exchanging moneys, with the general business of a Bureau de Change. A plan had been formed to rob them, and on the night in question thieves had broken in, who, probably meeting with resistance, had stabbed one mortally, and the other severely. In the confusion, however, the assassins

had escaped. I thought this an odd beginning in a strange land, and was led to conclude that persons and property were not very safe, even under the nose of the Emperor.

A few days after, another murder was perpetrated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. My informant stated that there was a young girl, of great beauty, who lived in the outskirts of the city. Two Brazilians or Portuguese, I forget which, had fallen desperately in love with her, and she had shown no decided preference for either, but coquetted with both. One day they proposed to her to ride out with them in the direction of the aqueduct that supplies Rio with water. What occurred during their promenade up to the period of the catastrophe was not then known, but it was surmised that, finding she would give the preference to neither, or that she had turned a deaf ear to their addresses, they resolved to get rid of the girl altogether. From marks on the head, they must have first knocked her off her horse, and it was, moreover, evident that she had defended herself to the utmost. Having once dismounted her,

they actually cut off her head, and threw it some distance from the body. In the morning, a slave found the corpse, and immediately gave information to the police, who carried it to the hospital of the Misericordia, where I was told I might go and see it.

All this occurred during the time of the Regency, and perhaps they are isolated instances of a bad system of preventive or repressive police. I understand that a better state of things exists now, and I merely mention the two circumstances as a matter of history.

I believe the Bay of Rio de Janeiro to be unrivalled in the universe, although there are persons who speak of Sydney as equalling it; but the latter fails in the grandeur of the scenery, having no lofty mountains in the background, or in its immediate neighbourhood. The entrance of the former is not more than half a mile in width; but on the left rises the sugar-loaf rock called Corcovada, and on the opposite side a fort, behind which forests almost dip their branches in the sea. Islands are scattered here and there in the Bay, on

which stand picturesque convents, churches, and villas. The vegetation is particularly luxuriant on every side, and cocoa-nut trees, palms, and every description of tropical plant, may be seen clothing the shores with verdure. In the distance, at three days' march from Rio, rise the Organ Mountains, which are so visible, from the clearness of the atmosphere, that every peak appears distinctly of a rosy hue.

Innumerable canoes, with large sails, cross and recross all day long, carrying fruits and vegetables to the markets. These canoes go out in all weathers, even when larger boats cannot put to sea, and they manage this by a very simple and effective contrivance. They rig a long bamboo out to windward, and if the wind is high, one or two negroes sit on it, holding on by the rope that secures it to the mast. The harder it blows, the farther they sit from the canoe, and by this means it is not only prevented from capsizing, but is able to skim the waves like a cork.

My relatives had arrived before me, and had taken a beautiful villa that once belonged to Don

Pedro, in the direction of the Palace of San Christoval. The gardens that surrounded it were filled with large orange-trees, producing an exquisite fruit, but not so fine as some I saw at Bahia, which were without pips, and nearly as large as an ostrich's egg; and I never experienced any ill effects from indulging freely in them. Connoisseurs always pluck the orange from the shady side of the tree; and following the Spanish proverb, which says that they are gold in the morning, silver at noon, and lead at night, they eat them before breakfast,—as the natives of other South American countries do the fruit of the passion-flower, which is considered cooling and wholesome.

A hill rises to the height of one hundred feet or thereabouts, nearly at right angles to the city; and it would, I think, render the place cooler and more agreeable as a residence if entirely removed, for to a certain extent it stops the sea breeze from blowing freely through the streets. On this hill stands a prison, in which negroes only are confined. What offences the inmates had committed I was not informed; some were criminals, no doubt—

others, runaway slaves. They appeared to me in a wretched state, and were behind bars, which opened on the place where I stood, and gave the prison the appearance of a large menagerie. In front of it is a post, to which slaves are attached by screwing the two thumbs together when they undergo punishment. If a master had cause to complain of his servant, he sent him there to be flogged; and when it was over, they told me salt water was applied to the wounds to heal them. The remedy appeared as bad as the disease, in this case.

The negroes of Rio are a very ugly race of beings, the greater part of them having scars on their faces, which look exactly as if peas had been put under the skin, in various forms—no doubt as an ornament, in their estimation. They are short and ill-made, with exaggerated defects of their race —long heels, and calves on the wrong side of their legs. Speaking of their legs puts me in mind of the negro deputies or embassy which went to France for the purpose of settling the claims of Louis Philippe's Government on Hayti. They

would wear black silk knee-breeches and white silk stockings on State occasions, which showed off all their failings, to the great amusement of the Parisians. However, most of us are blind to our own defects.

One day I made an arrangement with the officers of the men-of-war in the Bay, to visit the cascade of Tijuca, distant about fifteen miles in the interior. We were sixteen in number—many of the party middies, who had not been accustomed to riding—and we had several mishaps at starting, such as horses falling, and throwing them over their heads, which they called going over the bows. After getting well clear of the city, we found ourselves in the midst of fine plantations of coffee, and as many of these were situated on undulating and high ground, they were very picturesque and beautiful. We came to a forest which appeared to be in much the same state as when Brazil was first discovered, and the further we got into it, the more remarkable it appeared, from the immense quantity of creeping plants interlaced between the various trees. The perfect solitude of the place, too, was very

striking. I can imagine a person left alone in such a forest, feeling himself far beyond the boundaries of civilization. Not a sound was to be heard save that of birds, who utter a monotonous cry, and only add to the desolation of the scene. With all that, however, there is something grand in this spectacle of nature, where man has not yet brought her into subjection.

On emerging from this mass of trees, we found ourselves in a pleasing country, and reached a venta in a singular place, close by two enormous rocks, which appeared to have fallen from the heavens, or, like boulder-stones, to have been deposited there by some flood—perhaps the Deluge. On the top of one was a chapel, which was approached by numerous steps cut in the solid stone. There were a few habitations about it, and at the venta we were able to feed our horses, which stood in need of refreshment. A charming ride brought us at last to the cascade, formed by a rapid stream rushing between high rocks that confine it, and it falls from a considerable height in a large volume of water.

There is a cavern on the borders of the stream,

but whether it be natural or artificial I cannot say. We had come prepared to have a pic-nic in it, so after viewing the beauties of the scenery, we went there to indulge in the good things that were brought with us, and a jollier crew I am sure never entered it than ours. I was told that Don Pedro had been in the habit of visiting this beautiful cavern in his hours of relaxation from the duties of government, and scandal added, not unaccompanied by the fair sex. It might, however, have been a story got up for the purpose of giving a little touch of romance to a spot, which had quite charms enough in itself not to require any love scenes to make it more interesting.

We remained enjoying ourselves rather longer than was prudent, as none of us knew the road very well that we proposed taking on our return. I believe we almost steered by compass, for it was not the way by which we came; and after going a considerable distance, we arrived on the borders of a lake, where we were brought to a stand-still. After hallooing for some time, we saw some negroes on the opposite bank, and bargained with them to

swim the horses across, we ourselves going in some canoes they paddled up to where we were. It was so arranged, intentionally, that the officer of marines and myself should be put into the same boat, and left to make the best of our way across. Nothing is more difficult to a person unaccustomed to such frail embarkations, than paddling a canoe which has no hold in the water. We sat as stiff as statues for fear of upsetting it, and slowly made our way through the lake, but landed safely, amidst the roars of laughter of our naval friends, who thought it an excellent joke to leave the soldiers to their own resources. We were both very grave until we put our feet on shore, and then we joined in the mirth our adventure had created, as heartily as any of the party.

Before it became quite dark we fell in with a conducta bringing down gold from the mines, and they had already lighted their fires, and were bivouacking for the night. Sentries, dressed much as brigands are at the minor theatres in London, with slouching hats, cloaks, and yellow boots, were posted round the encampment, and kept us at a

respectable distance. It was a sight I shall never forget, as the wild scenery, the curious dresses, and the grouping of the muleteers and guards, put me in mind of some of Salvator Rosa's pictures, more particularly the locality in which we found them. On arriving at the bridge of San Christoval, it was so dark that we stopped at a venta and bought pine torches, which we lighted, and then proceeded on our way to the capital.

A large plain was to be traversed after we passed the bridge, and we had got some distance from it when we were accosted by a man, who told us to go no further, but to retrace our steps and take a circuitous road that led to Rio, as he had himself just been stopped and plundered by brigands. This story made little impression on his hearers, and waving our torches, we continued our journey. Shortly afterwards, some men on horseback, with their cloaks on, rode up to us, and the chief, pointing a pistol, ordered us to halt. A parley ensued, and then we ascertained that it was a party of Minas Geraes cavalry, who were patrolling and looking out for thieves suspected to be loitering

in the neighbourhood. We told what had just happened to us, and the leader then said we had done very well not to follow the advice we had received, as the man was a thief himself, who wanted us to take a narrow road, where we might easily have been overpowered and robbed. After mutual salutations we parted, and each went to his own home; I to an inn in the Rua do Ouvidor, kept by an American, to which I had removed after my adventure with the rats in the Albergo Imperiale.

The Rua do Ouvidor, in which my new hotel was situated, is one of the most frequented of the whole city. It is the Regent-street of Rio, and in it dwell almost all the French residents, who form a small colony in that particular locality. There are marchandes de modes, gunmakers, shoemakers, and persons of every trade and calling. I was told of some one having sent out a cargo of warming-pans and skates, which of course found no purchasers; so the consignee took the covers off the former, and sold them to stir and ladle out boiling sugar in the factories—the skates were broken up

and converted into shoes for mules. It was like the old story of sending cocked hats to Constantinople. At the furthest extremity is a square, on which stands a church; and one day I happened to be passing, when my attention was directed to it by seeing a number of people looking up at the top of the building, where the bell is hung to call the faithful to prayers. A negro was tolling it, and every time that the bell was reversed, he stood on his head underneath, just getting out of the way to avoid it as it fell. I expected every moment to see him sent flying into the middle of the Place; but he was very active, and had, no doubt, played the same antics frequently on other occasions.

Observing many people enter the church, I went in also, and found that they were making preparations for a funeral. An attendant came up to me, and put a long lighted taper into my hands, requesting me to fall in with many others, who were also provided with lights. I did not know what part I had to play in the coming ceremonies, but I remained out of curiosity, to see what would happen. Presently I perceived, through the doors of the

church, a procession coming across the Place. There were numerous members of various confreries, in dresses precisely similar to those used in Naples, which entirely cover the figure, leaving two holes in the headpiece for the wearer to look through. Some were in white, others in black. There were many priests, also, who chanted the prayers for the dead; and on a crimson velvet bier, embroidered with gold, carried by some of the members of the brotherhood, was a young girl not more than sixteen years of age, who was costumed precisely as if she had been going to a tertullia, and had fallen into a deep sleep. Her hair was carefully arranged, with white flowers in it; her cheeks slightly rouged; and she had on a black lace dress and mantilla, with silk stockings and satin shoes.

The corpse was carried into the church, and placed upon a black catafalque, on which candles were burning. After it had been sprinkled with holy water, and the usual prayers recited, the same bearers took it up, and we all followed in procession to a court-yard, surrounded by arcades, at the back of the church. There a scaffolding was

erected, and on it were a bucket containing quicklime, and an open coffin, in which the dead body was deposited. The nearest relative of the deceased ascended some steps to the platform, and took a shovel full of the lime, which he sprinkled on the face, after spreading over it a cambric pocket-handkerchief. The mourners, in succession, did the same on other parts of the body, and then the lid of the coffin was closed. Masons came and pushed it into a cavity in the wall, prepared beforehand, and built up the opening with stones they had previously displaced.

The scene was altogether very striking, and it almost seemed as if they had buried the poor girl alive. It is, no doubt, however, a much more sensible system to consume the corpses by the application of quicklime, than to leave them amidst the living to decompose by the usual process of nature. The Greeks and Romans in ancient times burnt their dead, and so do the Hindoos to the present day. We do not read of the plague prevailing continually in Egypt in the olden time, because the bodies were always embalmed, as

should all those be that are deposited in the vaults of our English churches. In certain cases, J. Cahen (a modern French translator of the Old Testament) says the Jews also burnt their dead; and in corroboration of that assertion, he quotes 1 Sam., chap. xxxi. v. 12, and Jeremiah, chap. xxxiv. v. 5. He states, moreover, that the practice was only given over by the Hebrews after their residence in Persia; because there, fire being sacred, the punishment of death was inflicted on those who threw a dead body into that holy element.

His interpretation, however, of the fifth verse of the 34th chapter of Jeremiah is not considered a correct one; and our version, which reads, "But thou shalt die in peace: and with burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for thee," is properly rendered from the original Hebrew text. There are two passages in which mention is made of persons being burnt—viz., in 2 Chron. chaps. xxxiv. and xxxv., and Joshua, chap. vii. v. 25; but the worshippers of Baal and the sons of Zerah had caused

the anger of the Lord to be kindled against them, and their funeral piles were not lighted to do them honour, but for their punishment.

The Persians did interfere with the customs of the Hebrews so far as to prevent their burning the dead bodies of criminals; but they had no occasion to do so in other cases, inasmuch as it was only on the death of their kings that perfumes, but not bodies, were committed to the flames. In proof of this, all the tombs of Judæa contain niches for coffins, but never square or round cinerary urns.

CHAPTER III.

Destruction of forests—Threatened revolution—Native music—Pernambuco—Tooth-drawing extraordinary—Olinda—Departure: "Old England on the lee"—Bruges—A *tale* of a comet—Appointed to a barrack-mastership in Jamaica—Effect produced on the atmosphere of Great Britain by oceanic currents—Port Royal harbour—Kingston—Up Park camp—Picturesque scenery—Laughable occurrence—Expensive lodging-houses—Ordered to the north side of the island.

One of the most important of the various articles of export from Brazil, is coffee; and from the little labour employed in its cultivation, compared to that required by sugar estates, and perhaps, too, from the plantations being always on elevated grounds, which are much healthier, a great deal more land has been planted with it than formerly. It thrives best on the hill sides; and it frequently happens that, in order to clear the ground of the trees which now cover it, they

are burnt, and the ashes serve as manure for the plantations. In this manner vast tracts of forest have been destroyed, because the fire continues for days, it being only stopped by natural obstacles, or a fall of rain. When one tract of land is worn out, the same process is repeated, and by this means much valuable property in timber is consumed.

Should this practice be continued, it would not surprise me, if, some day or other, Brazil were obliged to purchase in North America planks and timber for building. It is to be regretted, too, that valuable wood, which might be conveyed to the principal seaports, when railways shall have been constructed, should have been wasted to such an extent; but there is a prospect now of the line from Pernambuco, which will intersect the country in a south-westerly direction, causing a great change for the better in this respect. The Botanical Garden, which I had heard highly spoken of, I found well worthy of a visit. 'In it there were shrubs of every clime, and large plantations of tea, which latter were cultivated by Chinese in

the pay of the Government. From specimens shown to me, I do not think it will ever be worth producing to any extent in Brazil, as it is not of so fine a quality as that grown in China. After being shown over the gardens, the director invited us to dinner, and there I saw for the first time, and tasted, a roasted or baked armadilla. The flesh was as white as that of chicken, and it appeared a favourite dish with the visitors.

There was some apprehension of an attempt at revolution whilst I was in Rio, and on the day named as that on which the conspirators were to enter the town, I went to the Campo Santa Anna, in the outskirts, where I saw a great many suspicious-looking men from the purlieus and the interior. An English officer, commanding a Brazilian frigate, went with me; and after we had finished our reconnoissance, we returned together to the city, where he received orders to take up a position with his vessel immediately opposite the Imperial dockyard, which it was expected would be attacked. As I was anxious to be present if anything occurred, he kindly offered to send a boat

for me before evening. Accordingly, at the appointed time, I went down to the palace stairs, and found his gig manned by a smart crew, whom I took for Malays.

On going on board, I asked how it was that he had engaged them to enter the Brazilian service. He then explained to me that they were Puri Indians from the interior, and that they made excellent sailors when properly trained. It occurred to me at the time that very probably their ancestors did come from the East, and that they had either been brought in trading junks, or had been driven across in canoes from island to island, until they reached the Pacific shores of the southern continent. But most if not all the Indians resemble them in the peculiar shape of the eye, the long black hair, and coppery complexion.

The Jesuit missionaries succeeded in inducing many of these wandering tribes to settle in villages, and there they taught them some of the arts of civilized life. When, however, Pombal put down the order in Portugal, they were also excluded from the colony, and the consequence has

been, that most of the Indians have returned to their primitive mode of existence; and, with the exception of planting a few bananas, maize, and other vegetables, they subsist on the produce of their fishing and hunting-grounds. Whether it be from the talent of the Jesuits as a body, or from the attractive ceremonials of the Catholic Church, they certainly are very successful in their missions amidst savage races; and in the instance of Brazil, the Indians were great losers, both in a spiritual and temporal point of view, by the suppression of the order.

As night set in, the guns were double-shotted, and the decks cleared for action, and we remained under arms till the morning. The conspirators, seeing that every preparation was made to give them a warm reception, quietly dispersed, and we heard no more of them.

It was a great amusement to me to wander about the streets of an evening, and listen to the negroes and natives, who sat at their doors singing, and playing on the mandolin. I met with the master of the band of Lord Dundonald's flag-

ship, who was established in Rio as a professor of music, and from him I obtained a collection of songs, which, if not original, are very pretty, being probably for the most part of Portuguese origin.

The time drew nigh for my return to Europe, and I took my passage in one of the old 10-gun brigs which carried the mails from Rio de Janeiro and the coast, to England. We lay-to off Pernambuco, in an open roadstead, the harbour being formed by a ridge of coral rock that runs parallel to the shore, through which there is an entrance sufficiently large to admit vessels that do not draw a great deal of water; others, of greater burthen, must anchor outside; and the heavy swell of the Atlantic renders it anything but a pleasant berth. I had time to visit the town, which carries on a considerable trade in sugar, cotton, and other produce. There was nothing remarkable in it, except that being built on low ground, with a dense vegetation in the immediate neighbourhood, I thought it must be at times unhealthy.

I rode over with the Swiss Consul to see Olinda, the most easterly point of Brazil; and on my way,

as we passed over the beach, near Pernambuco, he pointed out the spot where the negroes are buried. He said that there was a man in the town who was in the habit of going there to extract teeth from the dead bodies, which he prepared and sent for sale in boxes to Europe. He added, that his trade was a flourishing one, being all profits and no outlay. There appeared to me to be as many churches and chapels as there were houses in Olinda; but it is one of the prettiest villages I saw in my Brazilian travels, and it is to Pernambuco what Richmond is to London—a place of recreation and amusement.

Two days after we had taken final leave of the Brazilian shores, the man at the foretopmast head signalled a sail on our starboard bow. No particular attention was paid to it at first, because we were in the track of coasting vessels, many of which have very heavy masts and yards; but after a time, the captain, looking at her through his glass, perceived that she was heavily armed, rigged like a man-of-war, and full of men. As she edged down towards us we showed our colours, but

the stranger took no notice of them; so the crew were ordered to quarters, the guns were double-shotted, and pistols and cutlasses were distributed amongst the passengers, who were placed under my orders. As soon as the vessel got into our wake, her commander hoisted all sail and chased us; but as we had the mail and despatches, our orders were to wait for nothing, and we therefore continued our course. After pursuing us the whole day, the stranger was fairly distanced; and towards evening we ran him out of sight. No one could make out whether she was a pirate or some national cruiser; but not showing any colours, made us incline to the former opinion. We reached Falmouth in due time, and once more set foot in Old England, in the month of September, 1832.

For four years I resided in Switzerland and Belgium; and towards the latter end of 1835, on my way homewards, I made up my mind to spend the winter in that old-fashioned town, the paradise of monks, Bruges. So long as the weather was fine, there was always occupation and amuse-

ment in visiting the old churches, the many curiosity shops, and the architectural relics of other days, in the town itself—such, for instance, as the Salle de l'Arc, in which may be seen pictures representing scenes in the early life of Charles II. when in exile, and a good portrait of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. In the churches, too, paintings may be met with which one hardly expects to find in their sacred precincts.

In one small chapel there is a representation of the punishment—and a horrible one it must have been—of quartering a criminal. Four horses are harnessed, and attached by ropes to the poor wretch's hands and feet, the riders of them urging on the animals in different directions, to tear the limbs from the body. A more disgusting subject could not have been selected by the artist; but it is curious as a record of the times when such horrors were perpetrated.

As the weather became foggy and wet, I thought it the most dreary, melancholy town I ever was in; and no sooner did summer make its appearance,

than I went away to Ostend, where there happened to be an agreeable English society, and there I remained until I was again called upon to enter upon active service, in the winter of 1836.

The comet of 1835 was one of those natural phenomena which attracted universal attention during that year. Some thought the end of the world was approaching, referring to the "signs in the firmament;" and a visitor at Ostend, where I happened to be staying, who was not remarkable for expressing himself in the purest English, or who had been brought up in the Malaprop school, made a ludicrous mistake in speaking of it as "the tremendous consternation in the heavens;" meaning, of course, constellation, which would have been equally inappropriate. On another occasion, when some one complained of a passenger on board of a ship who had created a great disturbance whilst at sea, he asked why they did not place a "century" over his door. A sentry would have been less effective, perhaps, than a "century," in keeping him quiet. Fear of the awful consequences that might result from its proximity to us created a

sort of cometic epidemic amongst nervous people, as in 1832, when Béranger wrote his famous verses commencing, "Finissons en, le monde est assez vieux." The meteor of 1835 was said by the *savans* to be the same that guided William the Conqueror when he left the shores of Normandy for those of Britain, which is represented on the tapestry worked by his queen, Mathilde.

They tell us now of another of these erratic bodies, which should have already appeared, according to the calculations of astronomers, but has not yet been seen; and as they prognosticate that it is to approach very near to this our earth, there will, no doubt, if it comes, be a renewal of the same apprehensions as were felt on previous occasions when these celestial visitors illumined the heavens. I believe, however, there is as much chance of its running against our planet as there is of an omnibus in the Rue de la Paix getting locked in the wheels of one of those that pass up and down Regent-street; and even if it did, I do not think the results would be very serious, as its luminous tail is far too transparent, and of too

light a nature compared to the atmosphere that surrounds us, to produce any appreciable effect—at least so say some astronomers, and it is to be hoped they take a correct view of the matter.

In the latter part of the year 1836, I was appointed, at my own request, to the barrack-mastership of Lucea and Montego Bay, Jamaica; and in January, 1837, embarked on board of a storeship bound to Kingston. Our passage was one of the longest on record, for we were eighty-three days at sea; and the admiral on the station, for whom we had supplies, thinking us lost, sailed without them for Halifax, N.S. The delay in our arrival arose, first, from a continuance of contrary gales in the Bay of Biscay; and, secondly, from our meeting with strong westerly winds in the region of the north-east trades. This, which at the time appeared so unusual, I have since heard is not of uncommon occurrence of late years.

I do not remember having seen this deviation from the usual current of air noticed before; but if what I am about to remark on the subject be correct, it will show that it has already caused

atmospherical changes which have affected our own climate. Winds prevailing for any length of time from one particular quarter, will produce currents in the ocean. The north-east trade has created that which runs from the African coast towards the Gulf of Mexico, where, meeting with resistance from the land of Central America, it turns off to the westward, and forms the Gulf-stream. This water, coming from warm latitudes, is of a higher temperature than the surrounding ocean, and, when it reaches our shores, materially influences the temperature of Ireland and of England. If anything occurs to diminish the propelling power, such as a cessation of the usual easterly winds, or the prevalence of others from an opposite quarter, there must necessarily be a corresponding change in the current itself; that is, it will not only no longer run with equal velocity, but the water must also become colder.

The irregularity of the seasons in England is a subject of common remark. We have little or no spring, the winters are mild, and the great cold comes on in the early part of the year. May not

this be attributed to the icebergs which come down from the North Pole remaining longer in a congealed state, in consequence of the diminished warmth of the Gulf-stream, in which they were formerly more quickly melted? I think it would account for some of those variations of temperature that we experience in unusual seasons; for large masses of floating ice occasion fogs and severe cold, which the south-west winds, so prevalent in these latitudes, bring with them to our shores. We know that portions of Greenland, now unapproachable, were once occupied by a Danish colony; and probably the cessation of some warm current may have been the proximate cause of the change which has taken place in that climate, and rendered it uninhabitable. I merely offer this as a vague theory of my own, which those better acquainted with such matters may perhaps demonstrate to have no substantial foundation.

Owing to the height of the Blue Mountains, the most elevated peak of which is 8000 feet above the sea, the dim outline of the island of Jamaica was visible many hours before we reached the anchorage.

We sailed along the shore at night, the land appearing through the haze like a dense mass of clouds. Here and there were the lights of fishing canoes, or of fires on shore, which twinkled through the gloom. It was broad daylight when we were abreast of the Palissades—a long tongue of land running parallel to the shore, at the extremity of which is Port Royal, and within it the harbour of Kingston. The steady, cool wind from the hills, that had blown all night, here ceased, and a fresh sea-breeze took us past the point and up the channel to our moorings off the Ordnance wharf, where we disembarked in the course of the day. The storekeeper and deputy-storekeeper have residences here, and the Government offices connected with the Department are in the yard.

The next day I sallied forth to look at the town, to which all the sugar and coffee is brought from the surrounding country, rendering it a place of considerable commercial importance. Almost every other house is a store, containing every imaginable article for sale. The streets were in a dilapidated state, and much neglected—indeed, it appeared as if

no one took any trouble to keep them in decent order. Owing to the declivity on which Kingston stands, the rain, in certain seasons, runs down the principal thoroughfares in torrents, washing away the gravel in its course, and undermining the pavement on either side. In some places it was a matter of difficulty to step from the road on to the footpath. There is a large square in the upper part of the town, on one side of which is a barrack, and on the other the parish church—the latter containing some interesting monuments—and in the principal street leading to it is a fine old house, the rafters, floor, and pillars supporting the roof being all of solid or carved mahogany, said to have been cut down on the spot where it stands. In my time it was inhabited by the General commanding the forces, but it has been since, I believe, converted into public offices.

Up Park Camp is situated to the north of the town, from which it is distant about two miles. It is a very extensive barrack, and surrounding it is a park of 200 acres. An abundant supply of fine water is brought in pipes from a mountain stream,

the surplus of which runs into a fine bath, and has proved a great benefit to the troops, in a sanitary point of view. This station has cost enormous sums of money at different periods, and at first sight would appear a desirable locality for a military establishment; but, as I shall show hereafter, it has proved the grave of Europeans—indeed, I think it ranks next to Sierra Leone in the returns of mortality. The band of whatever regiment happens to be there plays for an hour or two in the evening, and then the beauty and fashion of Kingston frequent it, as Londoners do Kensington Gardens.

At Half-way tree, near it, are two roads, one leading to the Port Royal mountains, the other to Stoney-hill—a barrack built on a picturesque hill, but not of sufficient elevation to guarantee the occupants against attacks of yellow fever. Indeed, at times the troops have suffered as much from the disease there as they have in places not apparently so well situated. Close to the officers' mess-room is shown a large decayed cotton-tree, and under it many duels were fought in former

days, the marks of bullets that struck portions of it being still visible.

The Botanical Gardens, situated at the foot of the hills, although much neglected, are still worthy of a visit, if it be only to admire the surrounding scenery. I went to stay a few days with a friend who resided at Charlottenburg, on a mountain range about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, the road to which passes these gardens. After leaving them, the ascent of the mountain commences, and it is one of the grandest and most picturesque rides I ever took. The lofty rocks have shelving slopes running from them, covered with the most luxuriant vegetation; and at times they approach so nearly, that merely a narrow passage is left, through which the perspective is grand beyond measure.

From Charlottenburg the view is very extensive. Below are mountains, interspersed with charming valleys, and in the distance, Port Royal, and a vast extent of ocean. It is a little paradise in the hills. Hedges of roses bound the garden in front of the house, and all day long diminutive hum-

ming-birds flutter about the flowers, extracting their sweet juices. The motion of their wings is so rapid that they appear to float on the atmosphere, and their varied and brilliant plumage causes them to shine like brilliants in the sunbeams. I once caught one with a hand-net and fed it with honey, which it took with a long transparent tube that can be projected from their beak.

At this elevation the temperature was delightful, and it more resembled that of a warm English summer than the oppressive heat of the tropics; the nights, too, were agreeably cool. Whilst there, I was suddenly awoke about four in the morning by a rumbling noise, and a severe shaking, which I immediately recognised as being caused by an earthquake. I got up and went out upon the terrace; everything around was calm and perfectly still; the stars were shining brightly, and not a cloud was to be seen in the heavens. Rather a laughable occurrence happened one evening whilst we were at dinner. There came a succession of heavy blows on the roof of the house, and we all

jumped up and hurried out, thinking it would fall upon us. We then ascertained that a number of mules had broken loose from a neighbouring coffee plantation, and found their way into the negro grounds on a hill above. Some apprentices, trying to catch them, had driven them to the edge of a precipice, from which they slipped, one after another, on to our residence. As they rolled off it, they shook themselves, and again started off, the negroes in full cry after them.

The descent from Charlottenburg was precipitous in many places, and on my way I passed a pretty place, surrounded by coffee plantations, belonging to the Bishop of Jamaica, who often resided there. A long string of mules laden with produce followed me, and when their drivers urged them on with loud cries, I had no alternative but to make for some recess into which I ensconced myself whilst they passed rapidly by; for if the horseman takes the outer side, he must be precipitated headlong down the slopes or precipices that border the road. These animals are very sure-footed; but sometimes, when they got jammed together, I saw them

holding on by their forelegs, the hinder ones barely touching the ground, and it was only by desperate efforts that they regained their footing and trudged along with their coffee bags. The coffee plant is so luxuriant, and the climate so favourable to its growth, that the white blossoms, unripe and ripe fruit, may be seen upon it at the same time.

Although the colony is so entirely dependent on its agricultural produce, I only heard of one society for the encouragement of the arts and sciences as applied to the culture of the land. In the month of August, cultivators of vegetables, fruit, and flowers, are invited to send specimens for exhibition to Kingston, where prizes are awarded to them according to their respective merits. The bread fruit is not so common as might be expected from the similarity of the climate of the South Sea Islands and that of Jamaica. If not used within twenty-four hours after it has been gathered, it becomes hard and choky,—so that negroes greatly prefer the plantain, which they roast in a green state, or yams and cocos.

I was sadly annoyed by the mosquitoes on first

landing, and I considered them as the worst plague of the island, although at times the ants were almost as troublesome; yet when we reflect upon the matter, it will be seen that both are beneficial to the country in which they exist. Without the ant, decayed timber would encumber the ground; but this little insect, destroying the fibres of the wood, soon reduces it to a fine mould, which adds fertility to the soil. In the same way, mosquitoes, which are bred in stagnant water, have their uses tending to the benefit of man, although they inflict considerable temporary annoyance on individuals. They warn the untutored native to fix his habitation away from swamps, which create fever, and where they most abound; and the leaves he burns to smoke them out of his hut, expel damp air, which would otherwise be injurious. Ants in houses are very troublesome, and the white ant more particularly. I found the latter destroyed so much barrack furniture by eating the inside of chairs and tables, leaving only a thin outer crust, which crumbles in the hand, that I endeavoured to find some remedy for the evil, and succeeded by

painting them green. I attributed their forbearance to the colouring matter containing verdigris, which they carefully avoid. The Board of Ordnance, to whom I communicated the results, adopted my plan, and thanked me for my suggestion.

The expense of living in the Kingston lodging-houses is considerable, for there are no hotels, properly so called. They are usually kept by brown women, who rarely take the brevet rank of madame, whatever their age may be. Like the females of the Brazils and other South American States, most of them make cakes and sweetmeats, which they send out on trays for sale. Many of their preserves are excellent; amongst the best are the green tamarind, pine marmalade, and last, not least, Guava jelly. There is only one *restaurant* in the town, frequented by the merchants and the officers of the garrison; it is a convenient lounge in the middle of the day, not only as a place of rendezvous where everybody was likely to meet friends and acquaintances, but as being the only rooms in which the latest English and island newspapers were to be found.

As a residence, I thought Kingston hot, dusty, and disagreeable; but the old inhabitants say the climate is not an unhealthy one, though subject to occasional epidemics of yellow fever, like other towns on the sea-coast. I hired a phaeton and pair of very tolerable horses to convey me to Lucea, on the northern side of the island, and left Kingston an hour before sunrise on the 15th of April, 1837. Nothing can be more delightful than the temperature of the air at that early hour. The land wind still brings down the cool atmosphere from the mountains, and no glare of a tropical sun dazzles the sight. The leaves of the innumerable plants and magnificent trees, which shed their fragrance around, are covered with the transparent drops of heavy dew that fall during the night. Crowds of negro men and women, with large baskets of fruit and vegetables, are hastening to the town market, and enliven the scene by their numbers and picturesque appearance. From their earliest youth, they are taught to carry everything on their heads; and it is astonishing with what apparent ease they bring the heavy produce of their grounds from great

distances, following each other in Indian file, half-running, half-walking, for hours together. They never walk in a direct line, but make a zigzag course, much in the same way that a vessel does beating to windward. All are barefooted; but many of them carry their shoes in their hands, and put them on before they enter the town.

CHAPTER IV.

Gigantic cotton trees—Spanish Town—Dilapidated state of the buildings—Public edifices—West Indian regiments—Diabolo mountain—Dainty dish: roasted green parrots—Monigue—"The Lady of the Lake"—Parish of St. Ann's—St. Ann's Bay—A white squall—Melancholy accident—Columbus—Rio Bueno—Hospitality of a stranger—Cardiff Hall estate—Remarks on the Island of Jamaica—Cuba bloodhounds: "The game is on foot, boys; we'll hunt down *maroons*"—Training bloodhounds—The Rev. Horace Moulton—Negro hunting.

THE road to Spanish Town is flat and broad, with here and there a gentle ascent; and in some parts there are the remains of a paved road, badly kept, which was probably laid down in the time of the Spaniards. Half-way between the two towns is a celebrated tavern, called "The Ferry," well known in Jamaica to all lovers of good cheer. It is situated on the borders of a pestilential marsh, with a small river close at hand abounding in delicious fish. Amongst the most esteemed are the calipiva

(a sort of salmon) and fine eels, both of which are cooked to perfection in the tavern. The house itself is well kept, and the constant traffic between the capital and Kingston made it a place of general resort in my time. The railway that now exists has done away with the necessity for such a halting-place, and it is probably numbered amongst the things of the past. No public conveyance, such as an omnibus or stage-coach, facilitated the communication between the two towns.

In general, the colonists of Jamaica seem to direct all their energies to producing as much coffee, sugar, and rum as possible, to the exclusion of everything else; and, unlike the French and Spaniards, they do not exert themselves to render a residence in their adopted country more agreeable. They live in hopes of amassing sufficient wealth to return and spend the evening of their days in their native land. Everything bears witness to this intention. The houses, with few exceptions (and those are Spanish), are of wood, and built as if the owners only contemplated a temporary residence. Not far from "The Ferry" are some cotton-trees

of gigantic size; the very branches spreading out from them are as large as English elms of many years' growth, and they are probably the last remains of the primitive forests that have gradually disappeared, as the land was required for agricultural purposes. They bear a flower producing a large pod, which, when ripe, is filled with a fine silky cotton. I am surprised it has never been collected as an article of commerce. Felicia Hemans must have seen such a tree as I describe when she wrote these lines:—

Whisper, thou tree, thou lonely tree,
One where a thousand stood:
Well might proud tales be told of thee,
Lord of the solemn wood.

Dwells there no voice amidst thy boughs
With leaves yet darkly green?
Stillness is round, and noontide glows,—
Tell us what thou hast seen.

I entered Spanish Town by a high bridge over the Rio Cobre, and proceeded to the principal lodging-house, built by the Spaniards, as is evident from the great quantity of mahogany used in its construction. Such a dilapidated place as the

island capital I never saw: it seemed as if it had been recently bombarded—tiles falling off the roofs of the houses, shutters hanging by one hinge, walls out of the perpendicular, and the streets, like those of Kingston, very much cut up by the rains. The square of the Government House, however, is an exception—the courts of justice, the public offices, and the House of Assembly, are there united. On one side of it is a statue of the great Lord Rodney, so completely extinguished by a heavy dome that it is only half visible.

The society, which is numerous, is composed of the families of the Government *employés*, the barristers and attorneys, with the occasional addition of the members of Assembly during the Parliamentary session. Previous to the final capture of the island, in the time of Cromwell, St. Jago de la Vega had been twice occupied and given up to pillage—first in 1596, and again forty years afterwards, by an English force sent from the Windward Islands. The residence of the Governor is a large brick building, with a lofty stone portico, and contains but one good reception-room, in which

the Council hold their sittings; the others are inconveniently long and narrow.

One of the West India regiments was quartered in the town barrack, and I had an opportunity of seeing them under arms. They had a more military appearance than I had anticipated, and they are generally well-conducted, orderly soldiers—strong and active, and well adapted to the service for which they are intended. These regiments are partly recruited from negroes taken in slave vessels, and I very much doubt their fully understanding the nature of the engagement they enter into; for our knowledge of the various African dialects is limited, and the interpreters cannot always explain their duties in clear and intelligible language. One of them was pointed out to me, who was said to be the son of a chief, and a devout Mahometan. He was poring over the leaves of a mangled and thumbed version of the Koran, probably perusing a passage applicable to his fallen state: "And such of your slaves as desire a written contract, by the which it shall be permitted to redeem themselves by the payment of a stipulated sum, write them

one forthwith ; if ye be content with their services, and they be good, give them of the riches of God, as He in his mercy and bounty has bestowed them on you. La Allah !" (*Koran*, l. 24, *surat.*)

The military band playing at the officers' mess, not far from our residence, enlivened the evening of our stay in Spanish Town. The evenings appear unusually long at first, for there is little or no twilight, the days and nights being of equal duration. Thanks to the mosquito curtains, I and my travelling companions obtained a good night's rest, and we started again at an early hour in the morning. Nothing could be more grand and beautiful than the bog walk through which our road lay : a rapid torrent flowing between high rocks, covered with rare plants and shrubs, diffused a grateful freshness in the air, that was inhaled by us all with delight ; and the luxuriant vegetation seemed to acquire fresh vigour from its vicinity. Our horses trotted merrily along, and we reached "The Rest," a pretty little country tavern, before the great heat of the day. Here the horses' shoes were examined, as well as the wheels and springs

of the carriage; for soon after leaving it, the ascent of the Diabolo mountain commences.

Our brown host set to work to prepare the best fare he could furnish, consisting of salt fish, yams, the invariable ham and eggs, and last, not least, some roasted green parrots—a dish that I never met with at table before, and have never since seen. The flesh was dry, tough, and bad; but we gave a little scope to the imagination, and ate it as game. I believe, in sober truth, the parrots play the same part in the tropics that the crows do in colder regions; for, if not, they have nothing whatever to recommend them beyond their brilliant plumage. They are generally seen in flocks, and, when not feeding, they pass their time in bowing their heads, and uttering their one monotonous cry all day long.

The Mont Diabolo, as its name implies, has a most abominable reputation. We were led to expect dangers of various descriptions—such as falling rocks, landslips, and an almost impracticable road. I looked forward to an interesting episode in my journal, and was fully prepared for

the worst; but we met with neither accidents, adventures, nor difficulties. The road was in tolerable order, although the ascent was steep; neither rocks, large stones, nor trees obstructed our progress. Our little horses did their work well. We were able to contemplate the splendid prospect before and below us, as we gradually ascended, and we arrived at the top of the mountain much sooner than I had anticipated, so that we were enabled to reach Monigue in time for a late dinner.

I was delighted with the beauty of the country through which we passed. Groves of pimento on the declivities, and in large patches, gave a park-like appearance to the scenery that I never before saw in the tropics; for this tree suffers no rival plant to grow within or under its shade. The turf, too, in the pimento districts is invariably close and clean, and as smooth as the well-mown lawn of a Thames villa. When the tree blossoms, it gives out an aromatic scent, which embalms the air around. The tavern where we put up for the night went by the romantic name of the "Lady

of the Lake;" the lower part of the house was in brick, the upper in wood, and in many places the latter had given way, so that the country might be seen through the interstices of the boards; but the floors—as is universally the case in Jamaica—were highly polished. There was an air of desolation about the tavern itself, that rendered it very uninviting; and no one came to ask us who we were, or what we wanted. A brown woman was walking up and down the verandah; she took no notice of us whilst we were looking at the rooms, and establishing ourselves for the night. It was only on applying to her to find out the landlady, that I discovered she was the mistress of the house. We soon made ourselves at home, however; a fowl was quickly despatched, and, with the everlasting Jamaica accompaniment of ham and eggs, as quickly grilled by the black cook.

A dirty horse-pond is dignified by the name of lake—*pars pro toto;* for it appears that formerly (I could not ascertain the precise period) springs of water broke out of the ground, inundating the surrounding country, and forming a large lake, or

separate lakes. They retired, however, as suddenly as they made their appearance, leaving the pond alluded to as a solitary memorial of the event. The landed proprietors of the parish of St. Ann, in which Monigue lies, breed very fine horses, both for draught and saddle, and they fetch high prices.

When the morning dawned, we were well again on our way, and we passed a handsome house once occupied by the Duke of Manchester, when he was Governor of the island. A thick fog enveloped the hills, and as the fresh breeze dispersed it, we experienced a sensation of cold, quite unexpected in so hot a country. The people appeared fresh and healthy. It would be an admirable situation to establish a military post, not only in a sanitary point of view, but as commanding the high road that intersects the island. Troops have been stationed here in troublesome times; and I heard the climate spoken of in the highest terms by officers who had been quartered in the neighbourhood.

The road was under repair, and a dog belonging

to one of the negroes employed was basking in the sun, in the middle of it, where, with true Creole indifference, he preferred to remain rather than incur the labour of moving; so that before we were aware of it the carriage went over him. Occasionally, as we approached and descended the long hill to St. Ann's Bay, we perceived a strong smell of assafœtida, and were told it proceeded from cedar trees recently cut down. We were now on the north side of the island.

St. Ann's Bay is a small hamlet, with a tolerable lodging-house for travellers, and is frequented by two or three ships from Liverpool or London, to embark sugars from the neighbouring estates. The harbour is indifferent, being little more than an open roadstead. A melancholy accident had happened a short time previously. A pic-nic party had gone for a sail, in one of the large covered boats belonging to a merchantman at anchor in the Bay. They had not proceeded far before a white squall upset the boat, and many of the guests, including the daughters of the resident clergyman and an officer, were drowned.

It was in this neighbourhood that Columbus first made the land, when he was returning from Veragua to Hispaniola. He was filled with delight and admiration at the beauty and variety of the country before him. Tempestuous weather drove him upon the island, and, losing his ships, he suffered incredible hardships during the twelve months he remained on it. At that time the population was numerous; but by the cruelty and oppression of their Spanish conquerors, the whole race of Indians was gradually destroyed, and at the present moment there is not a single descendant of the original inhabitants remaining. I remember, however, at Montego Bay, seeing a woman who was supposed to have some Indian blood in her veins, whose features were very regular. Although not young, she preserved traces of beauty; her complexion was olive, and her hair of a jet black—not woolly nor curling, like that of the negroes. Her pedigree was doubted, but she was very proud of her supposed descent, notwithstanding. After the extermination of a whole nation, it might naturally be expected that some skeletons, or remains of the

sufferers, would be found. I made many inquiries on that head, but never could learn that any had been discovered.

I was told by a gentleman who had been some years in the country, that the negroes pretended to know of a cavern, not far from Montego Bay, full of skeletons in various attitudes, as if they had been stifled by dense smoke, from fires lighted at the entrance. Having a superstitious dread of such places, no temptation he could offer was sufficient to induce his informants to point it out. The gentleman I allude to once came upon a cave such as they described, and he endeavoured, with the assistance of a friend, to investigate its contents. They had proceeded some distance into it, when the lighted pine torches they carried in their hands awoke such flights of large bats, that they were very glad to make their way out again without discovering anything.

We slept at St. Ann's Bay, and went early the next morning, over a fine road and highly-cultivated country, to the pretty village of Rio Bueno. The lodging-house at which we put up was supe-

rior to any I had before seen. The saloon was one of the finest in the country, and, although now totally out of place in so retired a locality, yet perhaps in the days when proprietors resided on their estates, it served as a ball-room, at which the neighbouring gentry occasionally met. Here we were politely received by the Collector of Customs and his family. They complained sadly of the want of society, their only associates being the clergyman and his wife, as the visits of travellers were few and far between.

We were detained longer than we anticipated, and it was late in the afternoon when we got under way for Falmouth. The road, heavy and sandy, ran parallel to the sea; the shades of evening were beginning to fall; and our horses showing symptoms of fatigue, we were apprehensive of not reaching our destination before the night set in. Whilst we were consulting upon what was the best course to pursue, we suddenly came upon a gentleman, followed by a servant, at the entrance to a wood, of whom inquiries were made as to the distance yet remaining to be accomplished. Seeing

we were travellers, and newly arrived in the island, he recommended us to give up all idea of proceeding further, and to accept beds at his house in the immediate neighbourhood. We received his polite invitation with many thanks; but were obliged to decline it, being anxious to get on as fast as possible to our destination. We had not gone much further, however, before the horses were so completely knocked up that, on his reiterating his invitation, we changed our minds, and followed him towards his residence in the hills, on the Cardiff Hall estate.

In the midst of immense groves of pimento, a newly-built and well-appointed mansion gladdened our sight, and our kind and hospitable acquaintance, who had cantered on before, was in waiting to receive us. There was an air of comfort and neatness about the place, which was the more striking as it was quite unlike anything we had hitherto seen in the island. The rooms were well lighted; the floors, of inlaid wood, were highly polished; and all the arrangements bespoke the good taste of the owner. After we had been

shown to our rooms, and before the supper was served, a large brass pan was brought into the house filled with fragrant pimento leaves, and, on being lighted, the smoke drove out the mosquitoes, that are always numerous in the pimento districts.

Before taking leave of our worthy host in the morning, we went to visit the mansion of the proprietor of the estate (an absentee), which is usually called "The Great House." The entrance-hall and rooms were spacious and well-proportioned, and the former was supported by Corinthian pillars of fine solid mahogany. All the rafters, and boards too, were of the same material. We reached Falmouth—a pretty place, situated on the south side of the Martha Bear harbour—at an early hour. The town was very gay and animated, in consequence of the presence of the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, who was making a tour of the island for the purpose of inspecting the militia of the different parishes. The inns were full of militiamen, and white, brown, and black beauties of the environs, gaily attired, who had come in to see the review. It would be easy to raise a strong force

in the island, now that the negroes are emancipated; and even when only free people were admitted into the militia, they rendered good service on many occasions. Being well acquainted with the country, they were found very useful, particularly in bush fighting. The detachment that garrisons Falmouth is furnished by the Queen's Regiment stationed at Maroon Town. The latter is one of the healthiest quarters in the colony, and has been much improved of late years.

"When Jamaica was first conquered by the British, during the administration of Oliver Cromwell, multitudes of African slaves fled to the mountains, where, under the name of Maroons, for the greater part of a century, they formed an independent, and often hostile, community. Their numbers were constantly increased by fugitive negroes, and they carried on a long and harassing warfare with the whites. Even at this time, many are to be met with in and about Maroon Town, as the name implies. In 1738 they came to terms with the islanders, being guaranteed a certain independence. The stipulations, however, were not strictly ob-

served." About fifty-six years afterwards, they re-commenced their old practices; and from the difficult and often inaccessible positions they occupied, they were enabled to resist all the efforts made to overpower them. This led to the introduction of bloodhounds from Cuba; by these they were ultimately hunted down, and their independence was at last entirely destroyed. Some hundreds were sent to Nova Scotia, and others have since assisted in quelling insurrections amongst the slave population. They are fond of hunting the wild hog, which they dry and prepare in a manner peculiar to themselves, and it is highly esteemed.

The road to Montego Bay follows the sea shore, and is pretty good. We reached it after a hot, dusty drive, very much fatigued. During the day, we passed some fine pastures, where Guinea-grass was growing luxuriantly. The grazing farms depend in a great measure upon this herbage for feeding and fattening cattle. It was accidentally introduced into the island from the coast of Africa, with some birds sent to the Chief Jus-

tice, for whose food a large supply of the seed was forwarded. On cleaning the cages, a certain portion fell to the ground, took root, and grew. The attention of the planters was directed to the plant, from the avidity with which cattle devoured it; and finding them prosper wherever it abounded, the grass soon superseded all others. It is the more valuable because it grows in rocky, moist pastures, producing crops where the land would otherwise be unproductive.

The dogs I have alluded to above, which were brought from Cuba to be used in the wars with the Maroons, were kept there to pursue and catch runaway slaves. They were said or supposed to be bloodhounds, without the slightest pretence to such a designation. They were, properly, a species of illegitimate bandog, and were of all sorts and sizes, without any peculiar characteristics. Like the cur, they bit sharply, gave tongue in the same manner, and furnished other evidence of being a degenerated production. Their chief value arose from the careful mode in which they were trained. Those who were particular or fanciful in their choice of blood-

curs, never permitted them to be fed by a black; but if punishment was to be inflicted, necessarily or unnecessarily, it was administered by a black whipper. They were frequently half-starved in their process of education. When in the midst of devouring their mess, a black was ordered to take it away forcibly, and to carry it to a particular place. This he did in company with some white men. After going a certain distance, the whites halted, and the slave proceeded alone. The half-famished cur was then laid on the track. On coming up to the white men, he was caressed and hallooed forward on the line of scent; and having hunted up to the negro carrying his half-devoured-food, the latter was compelled to defend himself from the dog, until a sign was given by the training overseer to desist. By these and other means, these blood-mongrels were trained to hunt a negro steadily, through any number of white men. They bit and barked at their black game, but rarely ran in and fixed, for they could have been instantly killed, and the pursuers thrown off the line. Nevertheless, many of these animals,

of such honourable value, were destroyed in the West India wars.

When it was ascertained that a slave had escaped from a plantation, or the haunt of a runaway had been discovered, the overseer called in white assistance, and loosed a couple of dogs on the trail; they were not allowed to range far, in order to allow the hunters to keep up. Like all curs, they did not give tongue till close on their game—differing from the noble foxhound, that, opening on the chase during the splendid burst, bounds, head up and stern down, over Tilton great field or Wymondham pasture, and runs into his fox, mute and determined. When the slave was overtaken, he either took refuge in a tree, or maimed the dogs with whatever weapon he might have, and continued his flight; but he was always overmatched. The man-hunters fired at him, in the first instance, with small shot; and if he persisted in refusing to surrender, a bullet terminated the exciting chase.

These curs are still used by the free and enlightened slaveholders of America for the self-same purpose. I could quote numerous instances from

the columns of American newspapers, in corroboration of what I state. One or two, however, will suffice. The first is derived from the testimony of the Reverend Horace Moulton, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Chapel at Marlborough, Massachusetts. He spent five years in Georgia, and what he relates took place between the years 1817 and 1824. Others I could allude to are of more recent date.

"Numbers of slaves run away from their masters, some of whom doubtless perish in swamps and other secret places, rather than return to bondage; others stay away until they are almost famished, and then retrace their steps, rather than die; while others who abscond are caught by the negro hunters in various ways. Sometimes the master will hire trusty negroes, who come on to their plantations at night to beg food of their friends. Some obtain their living in hunting after lost slaves. There was a man living in Savannah, whilst I was there, who kept a large number of dogs for no other purpose than to hunt runaway negroes. When he went out on a hunting excursion to continue some

days, he took several persons with him, armed with rifles, and followed by the dogs. The animals were as true to the track of a negro, if one had passed recently, as a hound is to that of a fox when he has found it. When the dogs draw near their game, the slave must turn and fight them, or climb a tree. If the latter, the dogs will stay and bark until the pursuers come. The blacks frequently deceive the dogs, by crossing and recrossing the creeks. Should the hunters who have no dog suddenly start a runaway from his hiding-place, and he does not stop at their call, they will shoot him as soon as they would a deer.

"Some owners advertise so much for a fugitive slave, dead or alive. It undoubtedly gives them more satisfaction to know that their property is dead, than to be assured that it is alive, without their being able to regain possession of it. Some slaves run away who never mean to be taken alive. I will mention one who, having a weapon with him, when hard pressed by the dogs, succeeded in killing two or three of them, but was afterwards shot himself. He had declared that he would never be

taken alive. The people rejoiced at the death of the slave, but lamented the loss of the dogs, they were such ravenous hunters! Poor fellow! he fought for life and liberty like a hero, but the bullets brought him down. Some masters boast that their slaves would not be free if they could. How little they know of them! They are all sighing and groaning for freedom. May God hasten the time!"

In the *St. Francisville Chronicle* of February 1, 1839, there is the following account of a negro hunt:—

"Two or three days since, a gentleman of this parish, in hunting runaway negroes, came upon a camp of them, in a swamp on Cat Island. He succeeded in arresting two of them, but the third made flight; and upon being shot in the shoulders, fled to a sluice, where the dogs succeeded in drowning him before assistance could arrive."

CHAPTER V.

Montego Bay—Nature a sculptor—A negro's hospitality—Mosquito Cove—Fire-flies—A fitting spot for Queen Titania's court—Lucea—Domestic servants: "The greatest plague in life" not confined to England—Lucea fever—A negro graveyard—Military statistics—The mortality of Up Park Camp in 1820—My view of the causes of yellow fever—Old Retrieve—Rum punch—The sugar-cane—Sir Charles Price's rats.

MONTEGO BAY is a flourishing town. The assizes for the County of Cornwall are held there, and in and about it are many good houses. The exports consist principally of sugar, and the shops contain supplies of all sorts of goods required by the inhabitants and neighbouring estates. From Montego Bay to Lucea, the road, for some distance, is carried over an extensive marshy plain, the hills gradually rising to a considerable height in the background. Here and there may be seen the works and Great Houses of sugar estates, built upon

rising ground, with herds of cattle feeding in the rich meadows, and there is a very remarkable echo at Round Hill, the western extremity of the Bay.

Trees grow to the water's edge; and on the mangroves that dip their branches in the sea, oysters fix themselves. In many places the sea-grape, of a luxuriant and dark foliage, covered with a mass of fruit, spreads its branches along the sand, bathing in the water. The cocoa-nut tree also abounds, and it appeared to prosper more in the vicinity of salt-water than in the interior. We passed a small bridge, which, judging from its singular form and height, might have been designed by a Chinese. It was exactly similar to the one represented on the common blue Wedgwood ware. The Great River, from its name, created an expectation of seeing a fine stream. This is far from being the case; it has scarcely any perceptible current, although it runs through high and abrupt rocks, and the waters are deep. The sand which is brought down from the upper country forms a bar at the entrance, that renders it unnavigable and useless for the purposes of commerce.

Not far from this, at a turn of the road leading to the Orchard estate, stands a rock in which is a niche containing an exact representation of a man, formed in the hard stone. A friend of mine told me he had taken a ladder to look closely at it, and found that it lost nothing by a closer examination. The Great House on this property had been destroyed and burnt by the negroes in the last insurrection, as were many others in that neighbourhood; so that the proprietor was residing in what had formerly been the out-houses, until a new one was finished. We were most kindly received by him, and I took advantage of the few hours we remained there to visit some of the negro huts. I was beyond measure surprised at the great comfort, I may almost say luxury, in which they were living. One of the head men, in offering me a chair in his well-furnished hall, asked if I would accept some Madeira, and his sideboard was covered with good glasses and decanters. Another showed me his fat pigs, and they did credit to his housekeeping.

The negro farrier had a valuable horse, for which I offered, and he refused, 40*l*. I say I was sur-

prised, because the blacks were yet in a state of comparative slavery—that is, they were apprentices by name, a condition intermediate between bondage and perfect freedom; and having heard so much of their unhappy condition before I left home, I could hardly believe the evidence of my senses when I saw the real state of the case. I am firmly convinced that no peasant, at that time, in any country of Europe, possessed one-half of the comforts and advantages of the negro population of Jamaica. I never saw poverty, I never heard of distress, and I never met a single beggar during the three years I was in the island. I speak of the actual state in which I found and saw the apprentices, without any reference to former times.

We were some time in going from the Orchard to Lucea, although the distance is not more than thirteen miles by the sea-side, passing over Flint River, and round Mosquito Cove. Many years ago a frigate ran into this bay for safety during a hurricane; but no large vessel would make the attempt under ordinary circumstances, for the entrance is narrow, and the water shallow. A pestilential

marsh, teeming with mosquitoes, has furnished a name to the inlet. Lucea is situated on the western side of a horse-shoe bay of considerable beauty, the points approaching each other almost within musket-shot; so that the town, which appears at a short distance, when first seen from the eastward, is at least an hour's drive from the turn of the road where it opens to view. Coral rocks, sea fans, and submarine plants may be seen in the clear sea-water at a great depth, and render some parts of the anchorage dangerous. It is nearly landlocked, and, during the usual winds prevailing on that coast, is an excellent harbour. It was dark before we reached the town; and the brilliant fire-flies flitting about amongst the trees and cane-pieces, in immense numbers, lighted our way. It would be a fitting place for the Queen of the Fairies to hold her revels, for there, as the poet says,

"Among the crooked lanes, on every hedge,
The glow-worm lights his gem, and through the dark
A moving radiance twinkles."

The population of Lucea amounts to 1800 or 2000 souls, of whom, previous to the emancipation,

85941

1000 were slaves. There were scarcely any good unoccupied houses to be found, and the rent of even moderate lodgings was high. The price of a sitting and bed-room only was 80*l.* currency per annum—about 48*l.* sterling. After some difficulty, I succeeded in obtaining a house, of which a slight description may give an idea of the rest. It was of wood, supported by numerous brick pillars, and was covered with a roof of shingles, having no ceiling underneath them, either to give a decent appearance to the rooms, or to keep off the great heat of the sun's rays during the day. There were two entrances; but on the first and second floors there were no doors, not even to the bed-rooms, and curtains supplied the deficiency.

A large yard in front of the house runs down to the sea-shore, upon which the waves threw up quantities of beautiful conch shells. Pearls of a pink colour are frequently found in them; and I was offered one, of a very good size, for eight dollars, by a negro boy, but I did not purchase it, not knowing that they were of any value. The kitchen consisted of a small wooden building outside, without a

grate; for the negro cooks prefer a few bricks, in which they make a fire, to any refined and elaborate cooking apparatus from Europe. With these primitive materials they contrive to send up dinners that would surprise any person who saw the slender means they have of preparing them.

We were fortunate in procuring pretty good servants, paying for a female six shillings a week, to a man-cook (Phenix by name) about the same, and to a man-servant, who styled himself, as they generally do, a butler, eight shillings. A certain portion of this went to their owners, and they themselves received about two-and-sixpence, so that they had not much remaining at the end of the week for their *menus plaisirs*, as out of it they were obliged to provide their own provisions. On the south side of the island, after the emancipation, we paid as much as three guineas a month to a butler, and to the other servants in proportion.

It was more economical to give good wages, and have good servants, than to pay less for inferior people, many of whom were much addicted to thieving and other bad practices. Amongst the small pro-

prietors, and the brown people in town who possessed a few apprentices, it was a common practice to let them out for hire, at so much per head, as field labourers, a large portion of their pay being retained by the owners, and a certain sum being given to the people for their sustenance. This system was universally looked upon by the negroes as the worst kind of service; for they often had to go great distances to their work.

There were persons on the island who found it advantageous to bargain with some head men for the completion of a certain amount of labour in a given time. These contracts, of course, varied in different districts, and according to the nature of the work to be performed; but the planter had only to deal with one man, and that man employed his own family, or friends, in the performance of the contract.

It may be a question whether that will not be the most effectual and easy method of obtaining labour hereafter, inasmuch as it might lead the negroes to form associations amongst themselves, under leaders in whom they have confidence, to

employ their spare time. Most of the houses are built of wood imported from our possessions in North America, and from the United States. If a fire broke out in the place, it would, in all probability, be entirely destroyed, as there is but one fire-engine, and that belongs to the Ordnance. The merchants who reside in the small country towns of Jamaica, depend upon the estates principally for getting rid of their goods. Their stores are consequently filled with all descriptions of mercantile commodities, from shingles, boards, nails, hardware, copper, and iron, to calicoes, muslins, hams, preserved meats, and wines.

Since the emancipation, the negroes object to such articles of food as were formerly supplied by their masters; the salted herrings have given way to Newfoundland codfish, and hams are in great request, particularly if they are a little tainted, which gives the shopkeepers an opportunity of disposing of all those that are objectionable to Europeans. From the great quantities of vegetables, such as yams and cocos, that they consume, they are obliged to eat salt meat or fish to make them

palatable; yet they dislike herrings, their former food, because they are associated in their ideas with a state of slavery. Shortly after arriving in Lucea, I was invited to dine with the hospitable attorney of Point Estate, where I was shown a singular *lusus naturæ*. In digging up some yams, a negro found one so exactly like a child's hand and arm that he took it to the Great House. It was put into spirits in a large glass bottle, and when I saw it, appeared so natural, the fingers being gracefully turned inwards, that I could scarcely believe it to be a vegetable production.

A large marsh, covered with mangrove-trees, is situated at the eastern entrance of the town of Lucea, into which the sea entered as the tide rose. This neutralized the effect of malaria, until some wiseacre thought fit to propose to the vestry the construction of a road across the swamp. By this arrangement a certain portion of it was cut off from the sea by a dyke, and the water formed a stagnant pool, occasionally replenished by the rain, which flowed into it from the rocks above. When, therefore, the rains ceased, the miasma arising from

the mud engendered a violent disease, resembling yellow fever. It raged for two months, and carried off one person in six of the whole population. I had previously exerted myself in obtaining signatures to a petition, requesting permission of the vestry to have it filled up. This might easily have been done at a small expense, simply by throwing all the sweepings of the town into it; but the vestry, in their wisdom, disapproved of my plan, and the consequences were serious. I speak feelingly on the subject; for, having been attacked by the fever myself, and another member of my family having suffered severely from it, I can well expatiate upon evils that we painfully experienced. There were one hundred and sixteen interments in the English churchyard, from the beginning of January to the end of December, 1837; and the negroes, who were buried in a hill above the town (as unworthy, I suppose, of having their bones laid alongside those of their masters), were carried off in an equal proportion,—so that, as I have before said, one in six of the whole population fell victims to the disease.

The negro graveyard had no monuments or tombs, to record the deaths of people who were buried there, during the times of slavery and apprenticeship. The undulating ground alone showed the number of those who had been removed from all their earthly troubles; and so convinced were the slaves that in another and a better world they should rejoin the friends and relatives from whom they had been torn at home, that they often put a period to their existence under that impression. Weeds and creeping plants overran the rank soil, and no flowers bloomed over their graves. But what had slaves to do with flowers? Flowers are the luxury of the contented poor, not of the miserable negro in bondage; and I almost think that wherever they are cultivated there must be some grains of happiness that have sprung up in company with them. When we see the honeysuckle and roses overspreading the cottage of the English labourer, we naturally associate ideas of comfort and contentment with their presence, and easily identify our feelings with the humble individual who cherishes them. The slave has no

such feelings, nor does the poetry of the tomb extend its soothing influence over the bondsman. The arboreal emblem of sorrow—the floral offering of affection—bloom not over the resting-place of Afric's persecuted children.

The civil practitioners of the place were so constantly employed, that they caught the infection, and all died except two. In other respects Lucea is a healthy place; and the vicinity of the hills enables the inhabitants to renovate their strength by occasional visits to them. We were some time in recovering from this severe attack of fever; and it left us so weak and feeble, that we gladly accepted an invitation to spend a few weeks at a fine sugar estate, called Old Retrieve, where we met with a hospitable reception.

The mortality amongst the troops stationed in Jamaica was very great in former times, and I endeavoured to ascertain the cause of it. I therefore looked into such official returns as I could obtain, from 1800 to 1838, and found that the deaths amounted in the first half of that period to 184 and a fraction per thousand per annum.

In the succeeding nineteen years it fell to 85 in the same number of men annually. In the first period, the barracks were in the hands of the Island Legislature; with the exception of Stoney Hill, they were built on the low grounds, sometimes near marshes, where fever was liable to prevail; they were not well ventilated, and in some instances were badly supplied with water. The men slept on the floor, or in hammocks, as on board of ship; rum and salt provisions were issued to them; and there were great facilities for getting newly-made spirit, and what is called last runnings, from the sugar estates. In the second, the barracks were given over to the Home Government, under an arrangement with the Island Assembly, by which the latter undertook to pay an annual sum for the repairs of buildings. From that time, better rations were issued to the troops; iron bedsteads and hair mattresses were substituted for the hammocks; water was brought down, at great expense, from the mountains to Up Park Camp, for their use. The results are shown above in the diminished mortality.

From personal observation in the East as well as the West, I am firmly convinced that the more the comforts of soldiers are attended to in hot countries, the fewer men will fall a sacrifice to climate. Considering that each individual has cost the country not less than 100*l.* in one way or another, if he dies in our tropical colonies, it is as much a matter of policy and economy, as of humanity, to leave nothing undone that will improve his sanitary condition, even if it involves a large outlay of money. What is paid with one hand, is returned with interest to the other. I do not think the British army is more inclined to drunkenness than many others; but soldiers will indulge in it if they can get liquor cheap. I know, for instance, at Naples, where wine is abundant, the Swiss officers find it impossible to prevent their men drinking it to excess. In colonies like Jamaica, where a great deal of rum is made, it is always obtainable at moderate prices, if it be of inferior quality; and the monotonous life soldiers lead there, is very likely to induce them to drive away dull care by copious potations of strong drinks.

I am inclined to think that it would be better to employ the men in cultivating gardens, to supply their messes with fruit and vegetables, than it is to leave them, as at present, the greater part of the day within doors, where they have neither occupation nor amusement. I remember a case in point. Fever, in a virulent form, broke out at Maroon Town, in a regiment quartered there. The officer commanding, conceiving that out-door employment was the best preventive to its spreading, immediately ordered his men to improve the drill-ground, and the roads in the neighbourhood of the station. They were kept at this work from morning till evening, returning for their meals to their quarters at the usual hours. The consequence was, the fever ceased.

I met with an old barrack-sergeant, who had been many years in the island. He was there in 1820, when the mortality was so great at Up Park Camp, and from him I learnt the particulars and causes of it. He was, at the time, acting as one of the hospital orderlies, so that he saw the prevailing epidemic in every form. Two regiments

(I believe the 50th and 92nd), who were stationed there, happened to have been engaged, and in the same brigade, at Waterloo. In commemoration of the honours they had gained on that day, the officers dined together, and the men also. There were then only two or three wells in the whole camp, and they contained but little water; so that after the first-comers had drawn a certain quantity of it, the residue became muddy, and unfit for drinking purposes. Rum was therefore smuggled into the barracks, to a great extent, in sheepskins, sewn, and pitched to prevent leakage. The men indulged so freely in this, that the following morning, my informant told me, there were numbers of them lying about on the grass, who had been there the whole night. As nothing is more certain to produce fever than remaining any length of time in wet clothes, and the dews are very heavy in Jamaica, the consequences were lamentable. A day or two after the occurrence, fever broke out, and became so virulent that many hundred men and numerous officers were carried off by it in the overcrowded hospitals. The medical attendants caught

the infection, and most of them died. There is still in Up Park Camp a tomb called after the Montgomeries, which records the deaths of twenty-eight individuals of that family, or their connexions, all victims of this fatal epidemic, which spared neither the young nor the old.

Bodies must formerly have been buried in all parts of the Camp, for in digging deep trenches, and in sinking the foundations of new buildings, the workmen often came upon coffins. Many patients went into hospital, in those days, from the manner in which the hammocks were slung, above and alongside each other, and the consequent want of proper ventilation. At Fort Augusta, which is close to the water's edge, the sergeant told me he could in the morning tell the numbers who had slept there, from the dry spots on the flooring, marking the places where soldiers had placed their beds during the night.

I made many inquiries of medical men, and old residents, why it was that yellow fever prevailed at uncertain periods, and became epidemic, in localities which appeared to be always subjected to the

same influences? I never got any answer that entirely satisfied me, or elucidated the matter; and I was therefore obliged to seek some explanation from my own observations, and reasoning on such facts as came under my notice.

I consider that Jamaica was originally a volcanic rock, and that in process of time the wind, rain, and heat acting upon it, caused the formation of the shelving plain, as it now exists, by the *débris* that gradually accumulated on it from above. On this, sea-weed was cast by the waves, and, as it decayed, vegetation was created. Birds brought seeds of trees and plants; cocoa-nuts were thrown upon the shores, which took root and grew, gradually forming the present soil from the decayed leaves and timber. When the rains fall, they are quickly absorbed; and an hour after they cease, the ground becomes comparatively dry. As long as they continue, this produces no results; but when they are over, the weather is very hot, and the sun has great power—the earth becomes heated, and the rain-water, impregnated with vegetable matter, which has accumulated on the rock beneath, ferments,

and escapes in vapour, which, in fact, is malaria. I believe this creates the disease we call yellow fever.

There is a plant resembling a daisy, which appears in great abundance after the rains, and the flower is yellow; the negroes call it "Kill Buckra," probably from sickness prevailing at that season—the word "Buckra" signifying the white men, or their masters.

Similar diseases always come from, and not to, the earth; and if persons expose themselves to the night air, and dews which contain the poison in a concentrated shape, they are very liable to be attacked by fever. Many new-comers entertain such exaggerated ideas of the danger attendant upon a residence in the West Indies, that if yellow fever prevails in any locality where they may happen to be, they get alarmed, and perhaps fall victims to it, because the mind affects the body. The best preservative is a cheerful disposition. That fear will bring on an attack, when an epidemic is raging, is a prevalent idea everywhere. The Eastern story says that, once upon a time, a pious Moslem was worshipping at sunrise, when he saw a hideous

phantom approaching him, and the following conversation passed between them :—"Who art thou?" —"The plague." "Whither goest thou?"—"To Cairo." "Wherefore?"—"To kill ten thousand." "Go not."—"It is destined that I should." "Go, then, but slay not one more than thou hast said." —"To hear is to obey."

"After the plague was over, the tale goes on to say that, at the same hour and in the same place, the phantom once more appeared to him, and the holy man again addressed him thus :—"Whence comest thou?"—"From Cairo." "How many persons hast thou destroyed?"—"Ten thousand, according to my orders." "Thou liest; twenty thousand are dead."—"'Tis true; I killed ten thousand, fear carried off the remainder."

Within the last few years, a new station has been formed in the Port Royal mountains, at New Castle, and, from its elevated position, it will probably be found more healthy than the barracks were in the plains. It is surprising that the troops should have been kept for so great a length of time in localities which were notoriously un-

healthy; the change, therefore, is a move in the right direction.

All those who have visited Jamaica must bear witness to the hospitality of its inhabitants. From the want of inns or lodging-houses in many parts of the island, people are mutually dependent upon each other in travelling; and no one hesitates to ask a night's lodging, if necessity obliges him to seek one. On these occasions, the best room of the house is given up to the stranger, and the greatest attention is paid to his comforts, as far as the means of the owner admit. We led a very pastoral life at Old Retrieve, rising at daylight to ride out and enjoy the morning air. Breakfast was on the table at eight o'clock, at which hour the bookkeepers came home from their work in the cane-pieces, to return to them immediately afterwards. Then the brown women of the establishment, of whom there is always a numerous tribe on the estates, came in to rub the polished floors, whilst we retired to the verandah, or some shady place, to read.

At twelve, the whole party assembled to drink a

tumbler of rum punch, a practice that is never omitted. This refreshing beverage is prepared with limes, recently plucked from the trees. In this part of the country, the hedges bordering the road were formed altogether of limes, producing an abundance of fruit. In the time of slavery, the little negro children were always brought up from the huts to partake of the punch; and the overseer told me that it tended to counteract the bad effects of the great quantity of vegetables, such as yams, &c., on which they principally lived. Since the termination of slavery, this precaution has been neglected, and the children suffer to an incredible extent from worms, which give them swollen stomachs, and produce serious and often fatal disorders.

During the time I was on the property, I had many opportunities of seeing the cultivation of the sugar-cane. It is less laborious in the high lands than in the plain; the heat not being so oppressive, and the soil of a poorer quality. There are various opinions as to when this useful plant was first carried to Jamaica, although the generality of per-

sons think it was brought by Columbus on his second voyage, for he is said to have found no plants in the island with which he was previously acquainted, except the pine and the palm. It flourished at that time in the Canary Islands, was cultivated by the Caribs in Guadaloupe, and was indigenous to South America; so that it is more than probable that the Spaniards introduced it into the island. The plant being very succulent, requires a great deal of manure, which generally consists of decayed leaves, the dung from the stables, vegetable ashes from the boiling-house fires, and the stem of the cane after it has passed through the cylinders which extract the juice. In one of the islands (Antigua, I believe), vegetable compost, sent from England, was extensively used; but the emanations from it caused much sickness, and it was afterwards prohibited.

The cane is sometimes attacked by myriads of little insects, that prey upon the juices, and utterly destroy the hopes of the planters. Vast numbers of rats infest the plantations, and live upon them. A larger description of these animals was brought

into the island, called Sir Charles Price's rats, for the purpose of destroying the small ones, which they did very effectually; but the new-comers have proved as numerous, and even more troublesome than their predecessors. So destructive are they, that the watchmen who superintend the properties receive a certain sum for each rat they destroy and produce to the overseer. I remember, in riding through a plantation, having found a negro busily employed in roasting some recently caught, which gave out a very savoury smell; and the negroes consider them a great delicacy when eaten with molasses. There is no disputing tastes.

CHAPTER VI.

Hygæia: Morrison's pills at a premium—Slaves treated as chattels—Special magistrates—The conch-shell—Observations on negro children—Atmospheric phenomena—Mangoes—Melancholy scenes at Lucea barracks—Uncultivated land—Quiniferous cinchona—Labour—Uneasy state of the apprentices—Appraisement of labourers—Conversations with the black population—Their gratitude—The American consul's opinion of emancipation.

PREVIOUS to the emancipation, and during the time of the apprenticeship, the negroes received medical advice at the cost of the proprietor of the estate, who generally paid the doctor one dollar a head for attendance and medicine; and Monday morning (usually denominated Black Monday by the slaves) always brought a good many of them to the overseer's house, to complain of fever, headaches, and all sorts of evils, hoping to be allowed to "sit down," as they called it, and to enjoy a short respite from labour.

An attorney on the north side of the island, who knew their fondness for strong doses, imported a large quantity of Morrison's pills; and whenever they applied for relief, he administered a table-spoonful of No. 1, or No. 2, according to circumstances. The Hygæian system seemed to answer as well as any other, for coloured people generally require potent remedies. I remember to have observed the same thing amongst the Moors, who purchase great quantities of castor oil in Gibraltar, and take half-a-pint bottle at a dose.

On all estates in Jamaica there were hospitals for the slaves who were seriously ill, and they were still in existence during the apprenticeship. They usually went by the name of "the Hot-house," on the north side, and were appropriately so called, for they were in many instances badly ventilated, and not well attended to. The interest of the slaveholder was certainly involved in preserving the health of the negro. There were other cases in which the economy of death was of equal interest, when slavery was sanctioned by law. First, an aged and worn-out slave was an incum-

brance; secondly, a cripple, reduced to that state by disease or other causes, was useless. The blind, lunatics, and idiots were of no benefit, and their death was a riddance of unnecessary expense. In speaking of these inducements to neglect old or diseased slaves, I am far from wishing to imply that such was the case during the last years of slavery in Jamaica.

The great intercourse between Great Britain and her slave colonies—the force of public opinion in the mother-country—both acted as a check to the commission of any flagrant enormities in the relation between master and man. But what has public opinion done in Anglo-America? Public opinion there made the negro a slave. In that, as in all other Republics, the people make the laws, and those laws are only public opinion in a legal form. Public opinion having made, now keeps them slaves; in other words, it sunk them to the level of chattels; and the same public opinion has not yet caused those chattels to be treated as men. The circumstances that preceded final emancipation in Jamaica, and those connected with the con-

dition of the slave population during the period that the apprenticeship system prevailed, are so little known generally, that I shall proceed to describe them at some length, from personal observation of their working and effects.

Order was preserved amongst the labourers by the occasional visits of special magistrates, each of whom, in his own district, held a court on the various properties, whenever circumstances rendered it necessary. The overseer kept a record of the conduct of the people under his charge; and whenever complaints were made by him, the magistrate, after hearing the evidence *pro* and *con*, awarded the punishment. If it was a grave matter, such as murder, the criminal was committed to the county gaol, to take his trial at the assizes; but all ordinary cases between master and man were adjudged on the spot. I confess, I thought in some cases the punishments were lenient. I saw a negro brought up for beating a woman far advanced in pregnancy, and then throwing her into a hedge of prickly pear. He was notoriously a bad character; and the award

of the magistrate (twenty-five lashes on the bare back) was hardly adequate to the offence. He was tied to a cart-wheel, and the flogging with a cat-o'-nine-tails was inflicted by one of the head men, but he did not apply it very forcibly.

I never saw people so severe with their children, as the blacks and browns in Jamaica. They flog them unmercifully with a leather strap—a sort of knout—for the most trivial offence; probably because in the good old times of slavery they experienced the same treatment themselves, and they suppose it, in accordance with the advice of Solomon, an essential point in the education of youth. A brown man had a small hut opposite to my house in Lucea, and he was in the habit of beating a little boy with such severity, that I interfered several times to put a stop to it; and finding the poor child one day with a deep cut over the eye, I threatened to charge the father with murder if anything happened to him. I saw numerous instances of the same treatment; and I requested the Scotch Presbyterian clergyman to administer a

reproof to his congregation on the subject, which he did.

When the slaves, and apprentices afterwards, were required for work, and when their labour in the field was at an end, they were called together from their huts, or sent back to them, by the sound of the conch-shell, that was blown at stated periods between sunrise and sunset, from a central part of the estate, generally from the overseer's house. The sound of the shell might be heard at a great distance, and it was re-echoed from hill to valley, nearly at the same moment, on all the properties, the hours of labour being uniform on all of them. There was something striking in this manner of calling the working people to the rendezvous; the custom was probably derived from Africa; and the conch-shell was always used as a rallying sound, to collect the rebellious negroes, when the country was in a state of insurrection.

Whilst the gangs were at work in the cane-pieces and coffee properties, or other out-door labour, some of the women, who had young children in arms, accompanied their husbands to the

field, and there, under the shade of temporary tents like those of gipsies, they were occupied in preparing the dinners of the workpeople; others, again, remained at home with the children of the female labourers, and they superintended the household arrangements of the whole community. There was a school on all the estates, for adults and infants, on the Lancasterian system, which was more or less frequented. I was pleased to see the children leading some of the classes, and the older negroes learning to read and write from the rising generation. All this, of course, took place in the evening, during their leisure hours; but it often happened that the adults, after pursuing their studies for some time, with their usual fickleness, got tired with the monotonous routine of A B C, and gave it up. Their religious education was attended to by ministers of the sect of which they happened to be members. I mention the attention paid to the religious wants and the education of the people, during the apprenticeship, because an idea prevailed in England that they were neglected by their owners, on the prin-

ciple of its being easier to manage uneducated persons than those who have a smattering of knowledge.

Negro children are remarkably forward and intelligent when young, and seem possessed of good natural talents; but as they grow older, they lose a good deal of their quickness of perception, and seldom equal the expectations formed of them in early life. Is it from some defect in the system of education, or is it that their precocious intellects are soon worn out? I am unable to decide; but the fact is as I have stated: and I have often heard the same remark made by those who had better opportunities of forming an opinion than I had. There is scarcely a black in a hundred who speaks pure English, and the white people take no pains to correct them. Sometimes they even adopt the barbarous idiom of the negro, thinking to make themselves better understood The consequence is, their pronunciation is abominable, and the rising generation, notwithstanding the pains taken to educate them, retain the villanous *patois* of their parents.

When negroes were captured in slave-vessels and brought to Jamaica, there was considerable difficulty experienced in communicating with them, or understanding what they said. Here and there a few old men were to be met with, who had been brought from the coast of Guinea in their youth; and even they had almost forgotten their native tongue. They knew enough of it, however, to serve as interpreters; and wherever they were found, they acted in that capacity. The other negroes invented, or modified words to make themselves, as they imagined, better understood by the new-comers. For instance, a Jamaica man would say,—"Comey, comey, washey, washey," meaning come and wash; and in like manner they tortured sentences, suiting the action to the word, apparently with the desired effect. A negro, in speaking to a white man, uses many verbs to express the same action; as "Massa, me fetch, go, carry, come, bring water;" and they drop the letter *s* when words begin with it, saying tew for stew, kin for skin, and so forth.

The thunder-storms during the wet season are very violent on the hills, and at times they are terrific, generally coming on between twelve and one o'clock, after the sun has passed the meridian. They are usually accompanied, or followed, by heavy rain for two or three hours; after which, towards evening, the clouds pass away to the westward, leaving a fine clear sky, and a delightful freshness in the air. Nothing is more likely to bring on fever than a wetting from rain, especially if the clothes be not immediately changed. It is dangerous even to those who are accustomed to the climate, but doubly so to new-comers. On one occasion, whilst we were at Old Retrieve, a negro and two mules were killed by lightning, and a young girl, sitting on the ground near to them, was struck by the electric fluid. She was found when the storm was over, apparently dead; but when brought to the Great House, she gradually recovered, after having been rubbed with brandy, and a small portion given to her internally. For a long time afterwards her health was affected by the violent shock her nervous system had received.

She, however, ultimately recovered, and experienced no painful results from the accident.

We returned to Lucea perfectly restored to health by our visit to the hills, but the heat was so oppressive in our wooden house, that I resolved to take a place in the mountains, called Hill Side, that was then vacant, the situation being desirable, and the surrounding country charming. Here the average range of Fahrenheit's thermometer was 73° at sunrise, and 82° during the day. The sweet-cup, a small species of grenadilla, and the passion-flower, which produces the same fruit, of the size of an ostrich egg, abounded in the hedges that border on the roads. The garden was stocked with every description of the finest vegetables, and mangoes and star-apple trees were flourishing in various parts of the grounds. The former, when in season, furnish a favourite article of food both for man and beast, and the latter thrive wonderfully on them. When pigs are fed almost altogether on mangoes, the pork is the finest in the world; and horses are so fond of the fruit, that, if turned loose, they invariably go

to the trees to eat them on the lower branches.

The island is indebted to Lord Rodney for the introduction of these and other Oriental productions, for chance having thrown in his way a vessel bound from Bourbon to Cape Francois, in St. Domingo, having on board seeds and plants of the mango and cinnamon, he presented them to the inhabitants of Jamaica, where they have flourished, and enriched the country. The seeds of the former were numbered, and the produce of the parcel marked eleven having proved the most delicate, it now goes by the name of No. 11 mango. As the stones are thrown away, they take root; and from want of attention, the country is covered with many seminal varieties of the same tree.

The upper part of our country-house was in wood, the lower in brick; and I believe the former to be preferable to any other material for building. An old resident told me that those in stone were seldom healthy, which may be attributed to the material used being of a porous nature, imbibing the moisture during the rainy season. As far as my

own experience went, I had reason to think the supposition correct.

Visiting the barracks one morning about this time, I was witness to a very melancholy scene. A sergeant, who had been quarrelling with his wife, ran out of his quarters in a state of great excitement and jumped from the rocks into the sea. The waves were running high, and the current being strong, he was quickly carried away, although we could perceive him making efforts to regain the shore. The next morning my attention was again directed to the spot, from seeing the soldiers and the women running to it. I found that the poor man's body was floating within a short distance of the rocks, surrounded by sharks, which were endeavouring to tear it to pieces. The men were doing their best to keep off the fish with stones; and the women, among whom was his wretched wife, were uttering loud cries, imploring assistance. A boat happened to be not far distant, and the sergeant's body was brought on shore—not without difficulty—covered with wounds, and his jacket hanging in shreds about him.

Singular enough, a short time before, a private of another regiment, quartered in the same barracks, who had lately returned from Montego Bay prison, where he had been confined for a heinous case of manslaughter, met with a death somewhat similar. His character was so bad, and the crime he had committed (stabbing one of his comrades in his bed at night) so atrocious, that he was shunned by everybody. A small bay, formed by a coral rock, that acted as a breakwater, and was supposed to prevent the entrance of sharks, being *à fleur d'eau,* was much used by the troops for bathing. On one occasion this man, with many others, was in the water, when he suddenly called to his comrades for help; but before any assistance could be given, he was dragged under water, and never seen again. It was accounted for in various ways; the most probable seemed to be, that he had been seized on the stomach by a sea-cat, which prevented his rising again to the surface. I was told that the extremities of the legs of this strange fish have much the same formation as those of the fly; for they have the power of fixing themselves by them

to a rock, from which it requires great strength to drag them. They use some of their legs for seizing their prey, retaining a firm hold with the others.

Not far from Hill Side was an extensive estate that had been thrown up by the owners, the expense of cultivation exceeding the value of the produce. The soil was fairly worn out. Beautiful groups of feathery bamboos, in clumps, covered the once fertile valleys and hillocks, and in the former pine-apples grew wild wherever there had been huts or gardens belonging to the slaves. I could not help reflecting how much better it would have been if the proprietor, finding the land of no further value for agricultural purposes, instead of allowing it to run to waste, had planted mahogany or hard wood, both of which would have prospered without cultivation. His heirs would have benefited by it if he did not, for mahogany will always find a ready sale, and hard wood is indispensably necessary in the sugar mills, from its durable quality. There is good reason for not planting braziletto, bully trees, or iron wood in the in-

terior, because the expense of carrying them to a seaport would not give a profitable return when sent to a distant market; but wherever there is a good road near the woods, as in this instance, the speculation must prove advantageous.

I think it would be worth while to plant some quiniferous cinchona, which might easily be procured from South America. The demand for Peruvian bark is yearly increasing, and the produce does not keep pace with it. It is true that the trees growing in warm valleys lose their medicinal properties; but in the higher grounds of Jamaica—the Blue Mountains, for instance—the experiment might be attended with success; and there can be no question as to its proving remunerative, because the difficulty now is to procure a sufficient quantity to meet the increased consumption. It is a tropical production, inasmuch as it is found in the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Columbian Andes; that is, between 20° south and 10° north of the Equator, and in various altitudes, from 1500 to 10,000 feet above the sea.

Until the population of the island increases,

which there is a probability of its now doing, a considerable portion of it must remain uncultivated, from the scarcity of labour to clear the ground; indeed, I believe I am within the mark, when I say that more than two-thirds of the whole is either unproductive or barren. How to remedy this is a difficulty; the immigration of labourers and their families is slow, and by no means to be depended on; besides, those who are to work in the sun must be brought from the shores of Africa, or tropical countries, Europeans being totally unfitted for out-door labour in the low grounds. As slavery is put down, the usual outlets for the vast population of the countries on the western coast of Africa must, in a great measure, be closed. Nature, however, seems to have intended that the various tribes, pent up by the desert, should emigrate to America. By good regulations, and by holding out inducements to the negroes—among others, the certainty of acquiring property, if inclined to work for fair wages—there does not appear any reason to doubt that such a desirable object might be effected, particularly if African

emigration were sanctioned by the British Government, and carried on under the superintendence of their agents. It will be many years, however, before the influx of labourers will be adequate to the wants of the planters; I mean a sufficient supply to keep down the price of all description of out-door work by fair competition.

We have yet much to learn of the mineral treasures of Jamaica, for it is supposed that the Spaniards worked not only copper, but silver mines also, in the island. Lead has been found, and in the neighbourhood of Hill Side there are many indications of iron, for the clay is of a reddish colour, varying from chocolate to scarlet, which stains the hand like paint.

We were not much troubled with snakes or other reptiles about the house, but the mosquitoes were only a degree less annoying than on the seashore. There were various descriptions of vegetable flies, if I may so denominate them, which can scarcely be distinguished from leaves, or withered branches of shrubs. They were said to be very numerous at the Dolphin's Head, a high

hill that bounded the landscape to the eastward of our residence.

We remained at Hill Side many months previous to the emancipation, which took place before the time originally intended by the British Government. The negroes had been worked upon by designing persons, who led them to believe that the delay in making them free was entirely the work of the proprietors, or their agents, in opposition to the wishes of Queen Victoria. This had engendered a bad feeling amongst them, which was shown in various ways; and whenever an opportunity offered, I often talked with some of the better-informed men from the estates in our vicinity, who all acknowledged the correctness of the fact. They seemed suspicious and fearful that the long-promised boon might be withheld from them altogether; so much so, that many of them purchased their freedom within a short period before final emancipation; and they eagerly asked my opinion on the subject, considering me a disinterested person, from having no property in the country.

Whenever an apprentice bought his freedom, the price set upon his services depended upon the length of time which yet remained unexpired of his compulsory apprenticeship. That value was settled by the local magistrates, but the owners naturally asked a high price for giving up all claim upon their slaves. When, therefore, they all became entirely free, and the standard price of labour was debated, the negroes referred triumphantly to that circumstance, as a proof of its real value, according to the estimate of the planters themselves. The effect of appraisement was, perhaps, the only means of ascertaining the value of a slave, but it had this effect—that the negro was always inclined to appear a worse character than he really was; because if his master represented him as sober, talented, and a good workman, he became infinitely more valuable than if he had been a drunken, idle, or immoral man. In the first case, he paid a large sum for the unexpired term of apprenticeship; and, in the latter, he became free, at a comparatively small sacrifice of money. Thus was a premium openly offered for vice in word and deed.

In different conversations I had with the negroes, I reasoned with them thus. I said that their ultimate emancipation was a matter beyond doubt; that the persons who led them to believe the contrary were their worst enemies, who could have no other object but to create dissension between them and their masters, to serve their own purposes; that they should not think of asking high wages when the day of freedom came, because the planters were not prepared to state how much they could afford to pay for their labour; nor were they in any way sufficiently well informed upon the subject to put a price upon it themselves; but that it should be left, like all other commodities, to find its own level and real value.

I told them that their houses and grounds, on which they set a high value, were *bonâ fide* the property of the owners of the land, and that if they wished to retain possession of them by force (as was apprehended), they would never be able to accomplish it, when opposed, as they decidedly would be, by the Government. I said that violence would only jeopardize whatever they

might have laid by from their own exertions, as acquired rights could not be attacked or annulled with impunity. I showed them that their well-being was intimately connected with the flourishing state of the sugar and coffee plantations, because the inhabitants of the towns on the sea-coast depended upon them, in a great measure, for existence; so that if the merchants were impoverished, they, the negroes, could no longer dispose of their poultry, vegetables, and fruit, for which they had hitherto found a profitable market and a sure sale during peaceable times.

Whenever I held these conversations with the apprentices, they always listened to my arguments with the greatest attention, interrupting me occasionally to state their doubts or opinions, and asking for information upon any matter which was new to them. They evinced much shrewdness in their observations, and they invariably expressed themselves obliged for the trouble I took to enlighten them as to their true interests. They showed it, too, by what the late incomparable comedian Liston called "delicate attentions," in

bringing me presents of fruit and flowers. It requires a certain degree of tact and knowledge of the negro character to manage them well, for they are very hasty and irascible, and must state all their grievances, which they do in the most voluble manner, gesticulating all the time, to add force to their arguments. It used to amuse me very much to see them on the high road on their way to the town markets, speaking loudly to themselves even when quite alone, and arguing over matters which had disturbed their equanimity.

The great art is to listen patiently to what they have to say, without interrupting them, and when they are tired of talking they come to a full stop, from sheer exhaustion; their volubility acting upon their feelings as a safety-valve does upon a steam-condenser. When in this state, they quietly listen to any remarks that may be made to them, and I always found under these circumstances that they are easily led or persuaded. Being totally unprejudiced myself, I took considerable pains to form a correct estimate of the negro character, their feelings and their wants. The result of

my observations was often opposed to that entertained of them by the old residents, who, from position and the force of habit, were inclined to consider a black man as a being of inferior order in the scale of creation. Some American deputies, sent to make inquiries respecting the apprenticeship system in Jamaica, report much as follows:—

"We called on the American Consul at Kingston, a true-hearted Virginian, who told us things were going ruinously in Jamaica. The English Government was mad for abolishing slavery. The negroes of Jamaica were the most ignorant and degraded of all he had ever seen. The American slaves, even those of South Carolina and Georgia, were as superior to the apprentices, as Henry Clay was to him. He came to this conclusion from the bad conduct of one woman who had been employed by his family. He complained of the laziness of the town negroes, who lounged about on the side-walks all day, jabbering with one another, and keeping up an incessant noise. As to the children, they were brought up in idleness, and sent to school. Every afternoon (he said) the streets were crowded

with half-naked little black devils, just broke loose from the schools, singing, 'Oh, that will be joyful.' These words ring in your ears wherever you go. The special magistrates were an insolent set of fellows; they would fine a white man as quickly as they would flog a nigger."

It turned out that the Consul had never been half-a-dozen miles in the country during a ten years' residence in Kingston. Like the American, there were many residents whose occupations and habits of life ill-fitted them to form a just estimate of the great change that was being effected in the social position of the negroes. Unfortunately, the principal sources of information in such matters, as far as the public is concerned, have been merchants or townspeople; the planters or overseers, better acquainted with facts, having plenty of occupation in looking after the estates, and little time to attend to foreign correspondence.

CHAPTER VII.

Marriage—Dress—Seven-story cake—Enormous canoe—The *fête* of the Reds and the Blues—Capture of a slaver—The appearance of the slaves, and their treatment when landed—Horrible incident—The middle passage—Fisherman's slave hut—Cuba pirates—Attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers—Letter from Lord Vivian—State of Jamaica during the years 1838, 1839, 1840—Missionaries—The Established Church—Dissenters and their flocks.

MARRIAGE, which in the days of slavery was of rare occurrence amongst the blacks, has of late years not only increased, but has become quite fashionable. How far the couples fulfil the relative duties of man and wife, I am unable to say. Marriage has been much encouraged by the missionaries, and must ultimately tend to their acquiring regular habits, and probably induce them to remain stationary wherever they may establish themselves.

We constantly saw them pass our house on their way to the church, and always with the same cere-

monial. The bridegroom comes first, attended by the bridesmaid of his *fiancée*, and a male friend escorts the latter. They are invariably dressed in the extreme of fashion, in expensive materials, such as white satin dresses, and bonnets trimmed with lace and flowers, not always in the best taste, nor are the colours becomingly assorted.

I remember being very much amused at seeing a party dressed as I have described on a very wet day, when the ladies were obliged to lift up their petticoats to avoid the mud. The bride showed a black calf above a pair of short cotton socks, which contrasted rather ludicrously with an elegant dress and satin shoes. Each of the gentlemen carries a new silk umbrella, parasol, or marquise, which appeared to be quite a *sine quâ non* on such occasions, having no reference to use; but it is esteemed, I suppose, an emblem of honour, as amongst Asiatics.

After the ceremony was over in the church, they paraded the town, without ever exchanging a word, looking very dignified, and followed by a numerous company of idlers. The rector of

Montego Bay told me he once married a couple in his church, when, at that part of the service where the man places the ring on the woman's finger, her hand having swelled, he could not get it on, and by some mismanagement it fell under the communion-table. He could hardly refrain from laughing when he saw the whole party down on all-fours searching for it under the altar. Although no carriage-and-four awaits the happy couple to convey them to their residence, they celebrate their marriage by a grand supper, where a seven-story cake invariably figures, and to partake of which they invite all their friends and relations. The evening is spent in copious libations, and dancing to a late hour.

I mention particularly the seven-story cake, because, appearing as it always does on these occasions, I cannot but think that it is a vestige of some traditional belief in the sanctity of the number, derived from the command of the Almighty to keep the seventh day holy. In Central America, all the remains of colossal monuments are of a pyramidal form, and consist of a succession of terraces, which I was told by an eye-witness are seven in number.

This would almost lead me to suppose that, by some means or other, people had found their way, in remote ages, to the American continent, and had carried with them the belief of nations to whom the Divine command had been communicated. Another curious circumstance is, that the emblem of the God of rain amongst the Aztecs was a cross; and I know, from a companion of Mr. Stephens in his Central American journeyings, that a Spanish padre who was with them, was so much struck with seeing some in a remote locality, that he thought a colony of Christians had once been there. The midwife, too, on the birth of a child, sprinkled it with water, and prayed the Creator of all things that that baptismal rite might wash away the original sin in which it was brought into the world.

Official business rendering my presence at Montego Bay necessary, we accepted the invitation of a very amiable family to pass Christmas with them. The distance from Lucea by land is about twenty-five miles, and nearly as much by water. There is no public conveyance on the road; but a large

canoe, formed out of an enormous cotton-tree, with eight rowers, leaves that place for the Bay at one or two in the morning, in order to avoid the sea-breeze which blows from the eastward, and commences an hour after sunrise. I had already tried this conveyance once or twice, but found it anything but an agreeable manner of travelling; because, when the wind was strong, there was no harbour on the iron-bound coast to which a boat could run for shelter.

Christmas-time is a great season for merry-making amongst the negroes. We were fortunate in witnessing a ceremony or procession, called the "Reds and the Blues." The origin of it is not known correctly; but it most probably arose from some *fête* given by an Admiral of the Blue or the Red on that station becoming, in process of time, a national holiday—sometimes, also, going by the name of "Johnny Canoeing." On the north side of the island it is a splendid affair, but on the south side it is just the reverse. In the latter instance, the negroes dress themselves in bulls' hides, with the horns on, into which they are sewn, and

go bellowing about the streets, butting all the people they meet. This is the remnant, most probably, of some superstitious African ceremony.

At Montego Bay, Lucea, and Falmouth, the rival factions of Reds and Blues represent all the great personages of the day, and their attendants. The ladies lend their jewels to be worn by the negro women who figure in the procession, and subscriptions are made by the residents to assist in purchasing the paraphernalia and dresses, which are really magnificent. King William IV., Queen Adelaide, the Duke of Wellington, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Grey, the Earl of Derby (then Lord Stanley), Lords Melbourne, Brougham, and Nelson, Sir Robert Peel, Messrs. Wilberforce, Daniel O'Connell, and Joseph Hume, besides many other well-known personages, figured amongst them. Queen Victoria had not then been crowned; her crown was therefore carried before her, on a velvet cushion, by a handsomely-dressed negress, who personated the Mistress of the Robes. The Duchess of Kent followed behind her Majesty in the procession. Wearing a blue uniform, I re-

ceived very gracious bows and curtsies from the party of Blues, who no doubt thought I had put it on in compliment to them. Each set had a champion on their masters' horses, who made a great show, in armour that fitted close to his body, and was composed of gilt livery, or basket buttons, sewn closely together. Both being armed with lances and swords, they became so much excited, that the two pugnacious heroes defied each other to single combat in the street; and the affray might have ended fatally to one of the parties, if the police had not interfered.

I was once at Montego Bay when a fine slaver was brought in by one of our cruisers, with a numerous cargo of slaves, the greater part of whom were boys and girls. They occupied less space on board than adults, and consequently a greater number might be taken in the same vessel to the Cuba market, where they were much more valuable than old negroes. The person who commanded the schooner was a Frenchman, and I had some conversation with him. I told him, if he continued in the trade, he would probably end by being hung as

a pirate. He treated my observation with great contempt, saying, he would take care that the next slaver he commanded should be heavily armed, and if he met any of our cruisers he would fight it out with them. When I replied that he was now a prisoner, and that he would be sent for trial to the Havannah, where in all probability he would be sentenced to confinement for a lengthened period, and thereby prevented from recommencing his old practices, he merely smiled, as much as to say, if that is all I have to apprehend, it is not a matter of much importance.

I heard afterwards that similar characters escape punishment in some such way as this. They feign illness, and are taken to the hospital, where, by bribing the employés, they are reported dead. Instead of a corpse, the live man is put into a coffin, and carried away by friendly accomplices, who liberate him, to reappear in command of another slaver, and under another name.

As soon as the arrival of the prize in question became known to the authorities, a large new building, then unoccupied, with a spacious wharf

attached to it, was hired for the purpose of lodging them until the island government could be made acquainted with the circumstances. I went to visit them, and a more shocking scene I never witnessed. On entering the gates, the first thing that met my eye was a high pile of coffins, heaped one upon another, to carry off the dead as they might be required. From the confined space in which they had been stowed, many of the poor negroes were bent double; and numbers were lying about on the ground dying of dysentery and exhaustion, brought on by bad food and the impure air of the hold.

It was explained to me, to account for the distorted shapes many of them presented, that they were placed close to each other in three rows, against the sides of the vessel, the two front being seated between the knees of those behind; but owing to the lowness of the deck, the upper tier could not sit erect. They were more like skeletons than human beings, and ate ravenously the food offered to them. In the middle of the yard cauldrons of soup were boiling, and a number of soup-

plates and spoons were laid out for their use. On a given signal they all ran to receive their portions, with the exception of a party of fifteen or sixteen, who were sitting together on some planks under a shed. These were the children of African princes or chiefs, and when they were told to get their dinner, they refused, saying it must be taken to them, as they were not in the habit of serving themselves.

Amongst these was a young girl, of a clear olive complexion, and I have seen many Spaniards and Portuguese much darker. Her frame was moulded in faultless symmetry, and her features were small and delicate. Who she was, or how she came to be entrapped and brought away captive, I could not ascertain. The kindness of the inhabitants of Montego Bay to these poor creatures, in ministering to their wants and necessities, was truly praiseworthy. It was an ample refutation of the stories current at the time, of the inhumanity of Jamaica planters to their negroes; but so unaccustomed were these poor creatures generally to such kind treatment, that many of them thought they

were only fattened to be killed and eaten afterwards.

A report of some atrocities committed on board the slaver was so prevalent, that the Goverment ordered the matter to be investigated. It was said that, after having left the coast of Africa about three weeks, they met with calms and adverse winds, and that their stock of provisions was consequently shortened. One day, when the slaves were between decks, the captain and some of the crew called a man who had been usually employed as a cabin servant to the fore part of the schooner, and deliberately cut his throat, throwing his head, hands, and feet overboard. This horrid murder was distinctly seen under the sail, which partly concealed the actors in the tragedy, by a young black, who was sweeping the after part of the deck; and he particularly stated that, to prevent discolouring the boards, they held his head over an iron pot to receive the blood as it flowed. They then put the rest of the body into a barrel with salt pickle, after cutting it into small pieces; the following day it was served out to the slaves, with

the usual allowance of rice; but on the cruiser bearing down towards them, the barrel with its contents was thrown into the sea.

Incredible as this story may appear, I had reason to think there must be some truth in it, for I attended the court of inquiry held by a special magistrate, and I there heard the evidence of some of the unfortunate negroes rendered into English by an interpreter from one of the estates. They all gave much the same account of what had happened; and what added greater weight to their statements was, that they were brought from the various properties where they were located, and could have had no communication with each other. A sister of the murdered man, by name Zuleia or Zuleica, when questioned on the subject, burst into tears, and was a long time before she could give any answer. She said she distinctly heard her brother calling her, and crying, "They are murdering me, Zuleia," as he made vain efforts to escape; that his voice became gradually less audible, although she heard his groans; and that from that time she had never seen him again.

I did not learn the result of this investigation, but many thought with me, that there was reason to believe in the correctness of the statement made by the slaves. It was asserted, too, that in consequence of the strict *surveillance* exercised by our men-of-war on the coast of Africa, the vessels employed in the slave-trade are built so sharp, for the purpose of fast sailing, that there is little room for the stowage of provisions, in addition to the live cargo. The voyage might be occasionally prolonged by variation in the weather. It is impossible to say correctly from whence all the capital comes that is embarked in this nefarious traffic. It has been supposed that vessels are sent from America, Cuba, or elsewhere, to meet expected slavers in certain latitudes, and provide them with rice, salt meat, and water.

When these slavers have made the eastern end of Jamaica, they run across to Cape Antonio, and I saw one particular spot where their cargoes are landed. A fisherman's hut is built in the woods near to a small creek. Close by it is a flagstaff, on which he hoists signals to slavers to warn them off,

or to tell them the coast is clear, as the case may be. Once landed, the unfortunate Africans are conveyed into the interior by persons who are sent to receive them, and the authorities of Cuba, in numerous instances, may never even know of their arrival.

Not long before I left Jamaica, in the year 1840, some pirates had established themselves between Cape Antonio and Cape Corientes, and had plundered and sunk two vessels bound from Kingston to North America. An old freebooter, who titularly became an honest man, and was in command of a small coasting vessel, happened to be becalmed close in with the coast, and was visited by the pirates, who recognised in him an old acquaintance. When veterans in rascality meet together, any inconvenient twitches of conscience are stifled by the exuberant boasting of past success, and in joyful reminiscences of the cut-throat doings of days gone by.

The disciple of virtue traded under his new colours much in the same manner as heretofore; the cause was changed, but not the man. His

brethren of the wide sea were entertained with scrupulous hospitality: they fared sumptuously. The feast took place below deck, where bumpers were drained in honour of their new ally, and in token of the alliance between vice and virtue. By previous arrangement, the crew had been cautiously distributed; and whilst the guests were indulging in their cups, the captain suddenly withdrew, and came upon deck. The hatches were put down, and the whole party secured. Resistance was vain; remonstrance useless; the pirates were safely conveyed by their former comrade to the Havannah; and there, seven in number, paid the forfeit of their lives, on as many gibbets, erected on the battlements of the Moro Castle.

Whenever captured negroes were brought to Jamaica, they were allotted to the different properties according to the applications made for their services, but they were only bound apprentices for a certain number of years; and very stringent regulations obliged the planters to give them a religious education, and to teach them reading and writing, subject to the superintendence of a magis-

trate, who heard their complaints and prevented abuses. The management of all Jamaica estates, where the proprietor is an absentee, is in the hands of an agent, called an attorney, who appoints overseers under him. Some of them have as many as twenty under their charge; and it must be a lucrative calling, for they run no risks, and receive a per-centage on the profits.

The overseers themselves, on whose abilities and good management the well-doing of the estate principally depends, are, comparatively speaking, poorly remunerated for the anxiety and trouble they undergo to further the interests of the owners. Most of them are men who quitted their native country at an early age, to learn their profession as book-keepers—a situation which was little removed from that of the slaves during the existence of slavery. In corroboration of this, I may observe, that the book-keepers were seldom permitted to associate with the overseers; they had neither amusement nor recreation, and they shared the labour of the workpeople. During crop time, they were not only employed all day in the fields, but

they also superintended the work in the boiling-houses to a late hour, and often during the whole night. The only thing which in any way reconciled them to their position, was the hope of some day or other becoming overseers themselves. Of the many, however, who went to the West Indies expecting to find there a suitable occupation, but few survived the effects of climate and disappointment.

Their breakfast, consisting of salt fish, yams, plantains or bread, and coffee, was sent out to them in the cane-pieces, heaped upon plates, as if it were intended for dogs rather than civilized beings. There they remained the greater part of the day, returning for a short time to dinner. I often observed them seated at the extremity of the table, scarcely speaking in the presence of the overseer; and as soon as they had swallowed their hasty meal, they rose, as of one accord, to return to their laborious duties out of doors. Emancipation was almost as great a boon to them as it was to the negroes. I well remember one of the overseers telling me, that for years of his life he was

always out with the gangs long before daylight, awaiting the first streak of morning in the east to commence work; and he often, from sheer fatigue, laid himself down on the road to sleep, with a stone for his pillow.

The managers may be removed at the caprice of the attorney, with little previous notice, and this renders their position precarious, besides diminishing the interest they would otherwise feel in the estate committed to their charge, from the uncertainty of remaining on it a sufficient time to reap the produce of their own exertions.

The apathy of Creoles is at times very amusing, and I had a ludicrous specimen of it at Montego Bay, in a friend's house. A handsome service of china had been washed, and, as is usual in Jamaica, had been spread out in the sun to dry; by some accident, a donkey came into the yard through the open gate, and, walking over and over it, destroyed a great portion of the plates and dishes. Although many of the servants were about the yard at the time, not one of them made the least effort to stop his progress, but contented

themselves with exclaiming, "Aye! aye!" as they never fail to do whenever anything occurs to excite their astonishment.

During the greater part of the time that I remained in Jamaica, I was in constant communication with Lord Vivian, then Master-General of the Ordnance; and as I have much to say in reference to what took place before and after the emancipation of the negroes, on the 1st of August, 1838, it may not be amiss to insert here a letter I received from him, thanking me for my account of the occurrences of that eventful period, and corroborating the correctness of my statement:—

"B. O., April 8, 1838.

"My Dear Sir,—

"I was much obliged for your last very interesting account of the state of affairs in Jamaica, and I thought it so important and so good, that I sent it to Lord Glenelg for his perusal. He has just returned it to me, saying it is most interesting and excellent. * * * *

"Very faithfully yours,

"Vivian."

I propose to explain the state of the island during the years 1838-9 and '40. For some years previously, missionaries of many denominations of Christians had spread themselves over the various parishes, forming numerous congregations, each according to their own peculiar tenets or belief. The clergy of the Established Church, whose duty it was to counteract their influence, by an equal exercise of zeal and fervour, appear to have been rather lukewarm in the matter, or, at all events, to have felt no alarm at the efforts made by others to enlighten and educate the negro population on religious principles.

The consequence was, that Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists became their principal religious advisers and instructors; and had they been satisfied with remaining as such, it would have been a source of lasting advantage to themselves, as well as to the colony. In many instances, however, the former were not contented to exercise a spiritual influence only; they sought to establish a theocracy, an *imperium in imperio*, to which the blacks, smarting under real or supposed wrongs,

were too ready to cling. Every one spoke highly of the Moravians and the Methodists; and the tenets of the latter differ so little from those of the Established Church, that they might be looked upon as its most active and enthusiastic pioneers.

I have before said, that the generality of persons in charge of estates were men who had early left their own country, and as they had been brought up amidst a slave population, they were not well qualified to act as the masters of free men. When the riots took place at Montego Bay and elsewhere, some of the white inhabitants were foremost in destroying Baptist chapels, to which the blacks were particularly attached, as they were built in a great measure by subscriptions from members of that persuasion.

The planters, instead of making friends with the missionaries, as they should have done, irritated and opposed them by all the means in their power. They could not, therefore, be surprised at the bad feeling towards them, on the part of the Dissenting Ministers of religion. The latter had always held out

to the negroes, that sooner or later their emancipation must be brought about; that the English people were unanimous in regard to slavery; and that they had no more powerful or more zealous advocates of their cause in the mother-country than themselves. When their chapels were burnt down, they became martyrs in the cause of freedom, in the eyes of their followers, and they did not fail to make the most of that feeling; in point of fact, they were all-powerful, because they represented a real grievance.

CHAPTER VIII.

Obeism—Sacred music—Baptist ministers: their influence over the people—The House of Assembly decides on freeing the apprentices in August, 1838—Suspension of labour—Bad advice from the pulpit—Emancipation—Admirable conduct of the apprentices—Saving habits of the peasantry—Negro houses and grounds—Mismanagement of the island agents—The French profit by our experience.

THE Africans are always more or less under the influence of the priesthood, and when ignorant of the only true religion, are the most superstitious people imaginable. Obeism and other heathenish practices, so general in their own country, were still privately practised in the colonies; and as they gave up that belief, they became equally attached to the Christian Church. The religion of the African, termed Fetishism, is derived from the ancient Sabyan or Isabæan creed, which was divided into two sects; "*Sabii fuerunt duorum generum, sub*

cultores planetarum, qui meliores, et cultores idolorum, qui deteriores."

From the latter have emanated the various pantheistic sects, that, misconceiving the nature of the Divine Being, believe his immediate presence to be declared in the accidental details of nature.

The most absurd and depraved of all these sects is Fetishism—a word adopted by the negroes of the Western Coast of Africa to designate an object of nature, animate or inanimate, to which they attribute divine agency. Trees, rivers, rocks, fire, are agents of good or evil; they are propitiated by the Priests, who, with charms, talismans, phylacteries, and the sundry appurtenances that the craft of superstition is ever ready to supply, have supplanted the ancient and simple Sabyan worship. The intercourse with more civilized communities, the exhortations of their ministers, gradually led the slaves to see the absurdity of their own faith; and, generally speaking, there are now few who believe in the power of the idols, in which they previously put unlimited confidence.

The salaried clergy of the Established Church

fulfilled the public duties of their office; the services for which they were paid, were regularly performed. Prayers were said at the appointed time, sermons were delivered in reprobation of crime. The mercies of benevolence were preached to such planters as occasionally visited the house of God, and the slaves were taught the necessity of obedience. But the latter had no feeling in common with the Ministers of the State Church, who were partakers of the hospitality, and were the friends of their masters; they excused the errors of slavery, and in some instances profited by them. Such conduct was not calculated to win confidence.

The negro felt the want of a spiritual guide; amid the ruins of his former faith, his weak intellect sought for some support, in exchange for the infinite trust he had placed in the character and person of his Obi; he was therefore prepared to receive the impression of any doctrine enforced in the solemn language of authority, and made palpable to his senses by ceremonial observances. The missionaries, too, were wise enough to take advan-

tage of their fondness for music, and taught them psalms, which they now sing with all their might, not only in the chapels, but in the prayer-meetings that they hold in their huts. On these occasions, as in Quaker-meetings, those who are moved by the Spirit make long extempore prayers, beginning most of their sentences with "Oh, my broders," in a monotonous drawl, which has nothing to recommend it but their apparent sincerity. When one ceases, he calls upon any other "lady or gentleman," who feels disturbed in her or his mind, to give utterance to their feelings; and then psalms are sung, and a chapter of the Bible is read. The music adapted to the hymns sung by the negroes, has none of the simplicity or beauty of that used in the Lutheran Churches of Germany and Switzerland.

It is curious to trace the custom of singing at religious festivals, from the most remote periods of which we have any record. It was employed before the Christian era both by the Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans; and the early Christians, particularly in the Eastern Churches,

sang psalms and hymns, taken from the Old Testament, and to which the Jewish converts had already been accustomed in their assemblies.*

At the synod of Laodicea (A.D. 365), regular songs were introduced, which were sung from notes by persons appointed for this purpose. The Western Churches received, through Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, a regular church music, similar to the Eastern. The Christian Fathers bear witness to the use of songs in the Christian communities in the first century; and many, as Ambrosius and Augustine, were great admirers of them. In regard to the manner of singing in the first assemblies, it was sometimes in solo, sometimes alternately, and sometimes there was a chorus of the whole assembly, who united in repeating short passages, before sung or read—from which, probably, the female sex were excluded. Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 590–604) instituted a singing school, in which boys were instructed.

From that time until the fifteenth century, Church music became less simple; and the hymns

* "Encyclopædia Americana," 1835.

being in Latin, the people were for the most part excluded from taking a part in it, as in the earlier ages of the Church. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the great masters of France, Italy, and Germany, formed an entirely new school of Church music. Luther's services to the German Church are well known, for which he laboured by means of his friend Seuffel. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the choral service became continually more brilliant, and always more corrupted, by the admixture of profane music. The manner of singing adopted by the Dissenters, and used throughout all their meeting-houses in the West Indies, certainly approaches nearer to that of the early Christians than any other Church music I have heard elsewhere, but it is defective from the imperfection of the music. Any system of singing which would combine harmony and simplicity, would be preferable to that which is in common use amongst the negroes. That already exists in the Calvinistic psalm-books of the Swiss Church, and might be adopted with scarcely any alterations.

The apprentices had no friends amongst the white population to whom they could confide all their little wants and wishes. The missionaries alone encouraged their hopes of liberty; they alone went amongst, and identified themselves with them. In addition to this, the little parts allotted to the negroes in the religious community of each sect, such as clerk, deacon, or elder, gave them a certain importance in their own eyes which they had never before felt.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that they were altogether, heart and soul, in the interest of the Dissenting Ministers, implicitly following their directions. If proof were wanting of this, I need only refer to the contributions in money, ground provisions, and poultry, which they always did, and still do make, for the payment of their clergymen, and the building and repairs of chapels. Not only do the members of the Baptist persuasion furnish liberal supplies of money and provisions to their Ministers, but they also work for them occasionally about the house, which is usually situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel.

The Ministers have as good residences, as fine horses, and as many comforts, as any other people on the north side of the island, and it is astonishing what large sums are willingly paid to them by their congregations. One of them told a friend of mine, that he preached a sermon at Falmouth (Jamaica), and made a collection at the doors which amounted to near 300*l.* currency—the pound currency being twelve shillings sterling money. At the time of emancipation, medals commemorative of the event were sold by those Ministers to all "their people," at the rate of two dollars each. This must have amounted to a good round sum. When the converts to that persuasion are baptized, they have also a fee to pay for the ceremony, which usually takes place at the mouth of a river, to accommodate the crowds who attend it. I remember, at Lucea, an old negress losing her breath when dipped under the water, and she made such strenuous efforts to get away, that she pulled the officiating clergyman over her into the sea.

The continued recurrence to the long-agitated question of emancipation, had excited the negroes

to such a degree, that it would have been dangerous to have withheld it much longer. So apprehensive were the old residents of a rebellion breaking out, that many of them advised me not to live in the country, where I was unprotected; and I was considered very rash for disregarding their opinions. Even after the measure was carried through the British Parliament, the complicated machinery of the apprenticeship system tended rather to increase, than diminish, the evil of coercive labour. It was therefore without surprise that the House of Assembly heard from the Governor his opinion of the necessity of putting a stop to it at once, without waiting the two years which yet remained unexpired, according to the original Bill.

Under the circumstances, no wiser course could have been pursued; but it would have been better for all parties if the original plans had been carried out, as the measure came upon both the master and the man too suddenly to enable the planters to make arrangements beforehand for such an entire and wonderful change in society.

I have said that the emancipation of the ap-

prentices was brought on before those interested were sufficiently prepared for its consequences. I shall proceed to show the causes that created a temporary suspension of outdoor labour; and I shall bear record to the exemplary conduct of the apprentices when they became free. At the period of emancipation, the attorneys were in doubt as to what course they should pursue with respect to the houses and grounds occupied by the labourers; and the latter were suddenly called upon to fix a value on their work. They had also to make arrangements for the support of their families and aged parents, whose wants were all attended to, in slavery and apprenticeship, by the owners of the land.

The proper way of acting in such a difficult case would have been, to allow the labourers to make their own terms with their masters, who naturally felt anxious to retain on the estates the people who had been born and bred there. No doubt, difficulties would have arisen, but they were not such as were insurmountable, because both parties were interested in a pacific and satisfactory solution of the

matter. It unfortunately happened, however, that the Baptist Ministers stepped in between the two, and, in pleading the claims of the negro, they far exceeded the bounds of moderation. They said to the planters—"We know the value of your land; we know what it produces, and what that produce sells for in the English market, after all the expenses of cultivation and freight. We have made up our minds on the subject, and representing, as we do, the interests of a people totally unqualified by previous habits to act for themselves in so difficult a circumstance, we are of opinion that you should pay them 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and give them their houses and grounds for nothing."

In vain did the masters reason with the Baptist missionaries; their fiat had gone forth, and must be obeyed. If such a case had occurred in England, would it have been tolerated for an instant? I should say, decidedly not. In Jamaica, the Government not only took no pains to set the matter right, or to adjust these conflicting interests, but the authorities rather sanctioned the conduct and interference of the Ministers by their silence. The

consequences were lamentable—estates became overrun with weeds; labour was difficult to be had; and even when the planters did succeed in getting a few hands, it was at the most extravagant and ruinous prices.

A Baptist Minister in Lucea made use of the following extraordinary language to his congregation; his words, as reported to me at the time, were:—"If you do not get your houses and grounds for nothing, and 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling a day for work, let the canes rot in the ground, and the ships go home in ballast." After this notable advice, he left the place for Kingston; and during the three weeks he was absent, the blacks remained without work, preferring idleness to acting in opposition to their Minister.

In another part of the parish of Hanover, the text chosen by the preacher was almost an excitement to acts of violence. He took the following verses from the fifth chapter of the General Epistle of St. James:—"Go to, ye rich men; weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have

reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

So great was the influence of the Baptist Ministers over the people, that these suggestions were attended to, and their orders were implicitly obeyed. They virtually ruled the destinies of the island, and as their power was not always tempered by discretion, they decidedly aggravated, if they did not cause, most of the difficulties that arose between the employers and the free labourers. The remarks I have made in reference to the influence of the Ministers over their congregations, and the manner in which that influence was exercised, are in accordance with the views of many well-informed persons with whom I talked the matter over in the island, during the eventful period in question. Far be it from me to decry the useful labours of any body of missionaries;

there can be no question that, in numerous instances, they have done great practical good amongst a population essentially ignorant, with only a faint idea of the principles of Christianity. Their converts, in enlisting under the banners of religion, have assumed a character which they must bear out to a certain extent, if only to keep up appearances. But they have doubtless done much more. The regular attendance at church, for instance, of the negro population, must ultimately lead to their acquiring regular habits and sound principles. What I object to is, the interference of clergymen in temporal matters, which were not in their legitimate sphere of action.

When the emancipation really took place, it showed the practical and beneficial effects of education; and the conduct of the apprentices was as creditable to them as it was to their spiritual advisers. On that eventful day, we could see long trains of negroes from the country, all in their best attire, descending the mountain paths, on their way to their respective churches or chapels, which were crowded to excess. No disorder oc-

curred; there was no unseemly rejoicing, riot, or drunkenness; but their whole conduct proved them worthy of such a boon. As might naturally be expected, they kept up their rejoicings for many days after that on which they became free. During all this time, I did not hear of a single instance of improper behaviour on the part of the newly-enfranchised population. I do not think that the most civilized people of the Old World would have acted in so noble a manner under similar circumstances. It must give every unprejudiced person a favourable opinion of the moral character of the negroes, and it holds out a fair promise of better times eventually, inasmuch as it shows them capable of reasoning correctly upon matters connected with their own interests.

It is true that a want of labourers was severely felt after the emancipation, and this was attributed by many to the inherent indisposition of the blacks to work of any description. I have already shown that it was partly caused by other circumstances; but I have not alluded to one that had a great influence in the matter—I mean the saving

habits of the peasantry, who had accumulated, in many instances, sufficient funds to allow them to await events. As long as slavery existed, they hoarded or buried whatever they earned. When the apprenticeship commenced, they began to acquire new wants and more expensive ideas, which were shown in their greater fondness for dress, in little luxuries both of eating and drinking, and in a humble imitation of the superior household arrangements of the whites.

I was one day waited on by a negro, who inquired if I would dispose of a horse which I had recently purchased. I agreed to do so for 25*l.*, and allowed the man to take him away, on his promise to bring me the money within a reasonable time. On the following Sunday, after church, he came to pay for his purchase, according to agreement. The whole amount was handed over to me in small parcels, containing shillings, sixpences, and smaller coins, which must have been accumulated during the time he was a slave.

Possessed of means, as many of them undoubtedly were at the time when they became free, it is

not to be wondered at that some of the coloured people should have laid it out in the purchase of land; and that, from the love of independence, such proprietors should continually be on the increase. They are enabled, with the assistance of their families, to cultivate a few acres, of coffee particularly, at a moderate expense, and they have always two or three days to spare for work on the estates, if disposed to be industrious.

The Legislature of Jamaica was convened on the 30th of October, 1838. Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor, in his opening speech, said—"The most important event in the annals of Colonial history has taken place since I last had the pleasure of meeting the Legislature of this island; and I am happy in being able to declare that the conduct of the labouring population, who were then the objects of your liberal and enlightened policy, entitles them to the highest praise, and amply proves how well they have deserved the boon of freedom. It was not to be expected that the total extinction of the apprenticeship law would be followed by an instantaneous return to active labour; but, feeling

as I do the deepest interest in the successful result of the great measure now in progress, I sincerely congratulate you, and the country at large, on the improvement which is daily taking place in the resumption of industrious habits, and I trust there is every prospect of agricultural prosperity."

The House of Representatives, chosen by, and composed of, some of the opponents of freedom, in their reply, said—"The House join your Excellency in bearing testimony to the *peaceable manner* in which the labouring population have conducted themselves in a state of freedom. It certainly was not to be expected that so great a change in the condition of the people would be followed by an immediate return to active labour; the House, however, are willing to believe that some degree of improvement is taking place, and they sincerely join in the hope expressed by your Excellency, that the agricultural interests of the island may ultimately prosper, by the resumption of industrious habits, on the part of our peasantry, in their new condition." Having shown what occurred during the year 1838, and previously, I cannot but think

that it would have been infinitely more advantageous to all parties concerned, if the original measure had been carried out, as intended, in 1840. The French, who had the benefit of our experience, and saw the practical working of the measure in our West India Islands, were decidedly opposed to immediate liberation of their slaves. They granted an indemnity to the owners, and they adopted the system of apprenticeship. The Chamber of Peers recommended, in a Report drawn up by the Duke de Broglie, that a law should be passed compelling the negroes to work for wages during a period of five years after it should pass the two Houses, previous to becoming entirely free.

I was acquainted with a gentleman who took a very effectual method of having a sufficient supply of labourers for the wants of his property. He gave the negro huts and grounds, rent free, to those who had before lived there, on the simple condition that they should always perform any work which might be required at the rate of one shilling per diem; but that in the event of their being tempted by a higher scale of wages on neighbouring estates,

and of their absenting themselves when called upon, then, in that case, he bound them to pay two shillings a day as a remuneration for a substitute.

This system answered admirably; because the negro affectionates the little hut in which he was born, and near which his parents are buried. He does not willingly quit it for another habitation, nor without the prospect of increased gain. The grounds, as they were called, had been brought into a high state of cultivation by the labour of his hands, and he naturally wished to retain the profits of them. By this plan he had all the advantages of a residence without cost, and land which repaid his exertions tenfold; besides which, the price of a substitute fully counterbalanced any increase of pay elsewhere.

The gardens, to which the negroes attached so much importance, were in most instances valuable. I believe I am within the mark when I say that they produced 20*l.* a year on the average, deducting all the expenses of cultivation, and in the neighbourhood of towns more. In them were planted

yams, potatoes (where the climate admitted of it), cocos, onions, bananas, plantains, and all the tropical vegetables. Under the shade of the mango, pigs were generally to be seen, tied round the body by ropes, and attached to the tree itself; they formed no inconsiderable portion of the negro's gains. During the apprenticeship, there was not a person in these allotments until the Friday afternoons and during the Saturdays, when, from all the estates, men, women, and children went there, to cultivate the gardens.

The care they took of these spots of ground, and the manure they put upon them, made the land so occupied more valuable to the proprietor. In many cases, when they objected to giving them up, they were ejected in a violent manner, or cattle were driven in to eat the produce. This was doubtless a harsh proceeding; but yet, when the planter no longer derived any benefit from their labour, it was only just that, as freemen, he should receive some portion of their gains, and an equitable rent, either in labour or in money. In some respects, the question assumed the same bearings as

that of tenant-right in Ireland. The negro had brought the land into cultivation, and in giving it up to the owner without compensation, he was a loser of all the labour he had expended on it, that labour being his capital.

The masters were not qualified, from previous habits, to meet the newly-emancipated working classes on a footing of equality. They did not adopt a conciliatory tone in their intercourse with them, and this naturally complicated matters on points which were already viewed in such different lights by both parties.

The negro cottages are generally of wicker-work, covered with a stiff clay, and thatched with leaves of plantain; some of the better sort had verandahs and porches. The interior was comfortably and often well furnished with chairs and bedsteads, the coverings of which were delicately white and well kept. Before absentees became a numerous class, and in the palmy days of Jamaica, gentlemen took as much pride in seeing their peasantry well lodged, as the landed proprietors of England do in having their cottages kept in proper order

for their dependents. The first year or two of freedom looked gloomy and unpromising, either from bad management on the part of the Government, or from the causes I have before adverted to; there was throughout the island one universal complaint of the want of cheap labour. Some proprietors talked of throwing up their sugar estates altogether, and turning them into grazing farms; others, again, paid ruinous prices to keep up the produce at a positive loss, in the hope of better times, and to prevent weeds overrunning the land, which it would have cost almost as much to eradicate as it originally did to clear and plant the estates.

The island press indulged in the most vehement abuse of the local authorities, which was re-echoed by the planters, who saw no term to their sufferings, and attributed all their misfortunes to bad government. The Baptist leaders found themselves no longer in the political position in which circumstances had placed them. They had succeeded in obtaining all the negro could hope or wish for, and they had become nothing more than their spiritual advisers.

As this did not suit their purpose, they sought out a new subject for agitation, and found it ready prepared in the long-debated question of houses and grounds. Lawyers flourished; for it required the strong arm of the law, in many instances, to eject the unwilling labourers. A general distrust prevailed, which paralysed trade, and threw a gloom over everything.

CHAPTER IX.

Sir Lionel Smith—Produce of sugar—Sir Charles Metcalfe—Immigration of labourers—Division of the soil—Value of property—The *Iconomist*—*Jeu d'esprit*—Characteristic advertisements—Leave Jamaica.

THE House of Assembly was so much indisposed towards the Government, that whenever the opportunity offered, they either thwarted its views or rejected its measures.

This antagonistic attitude of the Legislature towards the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, was not the least of the many complications which arose at this time, from the conflict of extreme opinions and prejudices inherent amongst those who had an interest in slave labour. He was the Atlas on whose shoulders rested a world of responsibility and difficulties. All his measures were criticised with an asperity, and were submitted to

with such a bad grace as greatly to neutralize the beneficial effects of them. He was looked upon as a partisan of the spoilers, who took a one-sided view of every question, and that view not a favourable one to the planters. In one of his addresses to the negroes, he recommended the women no longer to dig in the cane pieces, which is severe labour, but to remain at home, look after their children, and attend to their household duties. The remark was prompted by a kind and considerate feeling on his part, but his adversaries construed it into an improper interference with the labour market.

The produce of sugar in Jamaica, which, during the existence of slavery, amounted to 35 per cent. of that of all the other West India islands, was reduced fully two-thirds in the two or three years that followed the decisive measure of total emancipation. In rum and coffee there was the same alarming falling off. The planters were convinced that their ruin was at hand, and inevitable; they looked upon the blacks as incorrigible, and incapable of working when free men; and, in the

words of a French writer, that they were the "*Fils de Chuni, une race maudite, condamnée à trainer éternellement la chaine.*"

This was the state of affairs when Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent out to take the reins of Government. There never was a more difficult task allotted to any man; for so great was the antipathy of the planters to the new system, that they would gladly have thrown themselves into the arms of any power sufficiently strong to receive and protect them. But Sir Charles Metcalfe was a man of high integrity and talent, well versed in the science of government, and accustomed in the East to public affairs.

It was impossible to have selected a more capable person for so great a trust; indeed, there was no one whose statesmanlike powers could be put in competition with his great abilities. Affable and plain in his deportment, he soon acquired the confidence and inspired the respect of those he was sent to rule over. He had not been a fortnight in the island before a total change came over the opinions and feelings of all. His presence, like oil on the

troubled waters, produced a more calm, dispassionate reasoning on the part of the sensible portion of the community, who were weary of agitation. His liberality gained him the goodwill of all classes, and revived the confidence of the desponding planters, who had almost given up all hope of bettering their condition. The effects of this manifested themselves in increased efforts to meet their difficulties, and a more cheerful acquiescence in the views of the Home Government. He had the advantage, too, of arriving after the first outburst of popular clamour was in some measure exhausted. And although the negroes had disappointed the expectations of their friends, and, intoxicated with their newly-acquired freedom, had to a great extent abandoned work, still their conduct was irreproachable; and that portion of the community was much easier to deal with than it had been during the reigns of his predecessors.

Whatever may be the results of the great measure of emancipation, it is to the excellent management of Sir Charles Metcalfe that the

colonists may attribute the improvement which has already taken place in their prospects, and in the gradual increase of trade. During this eventful period, the friends of freedom in England and elsewhere were not discouraged by the diminished cultivation of tropical produce. They asserted that the worst was over, and that the falling off in the exports of Jamaica could not long continue. They were confident, too, that the blacks, who had been in some measure prepared for liberty, by better laws and a religious education, would not be long deaf to the remonstrances of those who understood their real interests.

They have not been altogether mistaken; for Jamaica exported more in the year 1842 than in 1841, and more than in 1840. If the accounts in the *Colonial Gazette* are correct, there was then already a considerable increase, which was still going on. The number of barrels of rum had risen from 8298 to 12,148; the increase of coffee, also, was from 7570 measures to 8803. As compared with 1841, the augmentation on sugar would be one-half; on rum, 46 per cent.; and on

coffee, 16 per cent. And let it not be supposed that the increase of colonial produce from Jamaica is caused by the immigration of black labourers from the coast of Africa, or other parts of the world. From the United States, there have been none; from Sierra Leone and the Guinea coast, the number is scarcely worth taking into consideration.

It is possible that cultivation of large properties may be, to some extent, compromised in the West Indies. If the colonies depended upon keeping up the estates on a large scale, there is no concealing the fact, that they would be in some peril. Small farms may supersede large ones. I will even admit that it is probable they will. But the same transformation has being going on in France since 1789, and yet France has become infinitely richer and more powerful. Why should not the same causes produce the same results in the colonies? Liberty has had no other effect there than to change the agricultural population from peasants and labourers into landed proprietors. It is perfectly natural that the black should wish to have

land of his own, and that he should prefer cultivating that which he has acquired by the sweat of his brow, to any other belonging to a great proprietor.

Reasoning thus, putting aside every other consideration, there does not seem any good reason why the production of sugar should eventually be less considerable than it was in the days of slavery. The cultivation of the cane will, in that case, be a separate affair from the extraction of the syrup, as in the beet-root manufactories. Industry would feel this division of labour, which habitually indicates its progress. Around the great manufacturer of sugar would spring up numerous labourers, who would, during crop time, constantly keep his mill at work. It does not follow, as a matter of course, that such will be the march of events; but it may be so eventually—it is even probable that it will; and if it should happen, there is nothing in it about which the colonists need be alarmed.

That such a change may take place, is proved in the instance of Jamaica, where a division of the soil is daily going on. The blacks are there be-

coming proprietors of small properties. It appears from a well-authenticated return, that the number of possessors of small farms, or estates, in that colony in 1838, the year of the emancipation, amounted to 2114; in 1840, it rose to 7919; an augmentation of 5805—that is to say, in place of one small landowner, there were nearly four, in the short space of two years. I have no means of ascertaining the augmentation since that time.

If it should prove that the exportation of one particular commodity, such as sugar, should never again reach the point to which it once attained, it does not follow by any means that the emancipation was a failure. Under the old system, the West India colonies were nothing more nor less than sugar farms; they produced nothing else, but a small quantity of coffee. Everything was subordinate to, and sacrificed to the cultivation of the sugar-cane. The soil, of a prodigious fertility in many parts, did not even feed its inhabitants. There was little cattle, and no beasts of burden, as in the French colonies at the present moment.

The rations of the slave were principally salted herrings, brought from England. Such a situation was unnatural, and could only be put an end to by emancipation. The result will be, that the efforts of the native population will not be exclusively directed to the production of sugar, but industry will be directed into other channels. There will be artisans, who before could scarcely be said to exist; and many articles of common use will be manufactured in the islands, which are now brought from England.

Are we to consider from this, that the great measure of emancipation was a failure? Decidedly not. Who would have cause to complain? It would not be the blacks, assuredly. Would it be the merchants of the mother-country? Certainly not; for it must always be more advantageous to traffic with a population in easy circumstances, than with a people of whom the majority is poor, and consumes little. If, as is supposed by many, the blacks should one day or other become the sole owners of land in the island, and the whites be only met with as merchants in the seaport towns,—after

what I have already stated, I can see nothing to justify alarm.

If Jamaica were peopled in proportion to its extent, there might be some reason in the supposition. There is so much of it, however, yet uncultivated, that although the number of landowners may increase, and small cane and coffee plantations, settled by negroes, may multiply, it will only add to the exports of the colony, without in any way affecting the original proprietors. There is a limit, too, beyond which cultivation cannot extend. We are told by Mr. Edwards, that, owing to the inequalities in the surface of the island, the quantity of rich productive land is small in proportion to the whole.

"The generality of what has been cultivated is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make it yield liberally. In fact, Jamaica, compared with other islands of the same extent (Sicily, for instance, to which it was compared by Columbus), must be pronounced a laborious and unfruitful country. Out of 4,000,000 acres, not above 2,000,000 are located, and taken up by grants from

the Government; and out of the remaining 2,000,000 acres, not more than one-fourth part is fit for profitable cultivation, the rest being impracticable and inaccessible."

In estimating the losses of proprietors of West India estates, it must be taken into consideration that, when the public mind in England appeared to be made up as to the expediency of abolishing slavery altogether, and that it became merely a question of time, many persons took fright at the consequences of unlimited freedom, and disposed of their properties at reduced prices, preferring a certain loss to what they believed total ruin. Purchasers in those cases, who received the compensation granted by Parliament, got great bargains, and at the present moment they ought to obtain a fair return for the money invested. In the same way, a railway may be constructed, and it may cost the original shareholders more than they anticipated. The shares fall, and fetch their real value in the market. Those who then become purchasers get a fair interest on their capital, although the original holders may be great losers.

The great problem to be solved—that on which philanthropists must base their calculations—is, the question whether free labour is cheaper, in the long run, than compulsory cultivation by means of slaves. I think it may be proved that the expense of supporting the aged, the infirm, and infants, who do no work in a state of slavery, more than counterbalances the sums paid to those who work for hire. On this point the question must ultimately turn; and if it be shown satisfactorily that such be the case, slaveowners would not be so blind to its pecuniary advantages as to support a system detrimental to their own interests.

We must not judge of freedom to the slave, and its results, by what has occurred in Jamaica, because I consider that as an exceptional case. We must take a wider range, and see how it has affected other islands—Barbadoes, for instance, where there is a working population sufficiently numerous to create competition in the labour market. In those instances, I think there are just grounds for congratulation in its success. "The domestic institution," as the Americans call it, had as many

advocates at one time in England, as it now has in the United States, and yet truth and justice ultimately prevailed in the mother-country. So, too, let us hope that time may overcome the prejudices of our Transatlantic cousins, and that slavery may cease to disgrace them, and the enlightened age in which we live. It was never intended by the Creator, that man, whatever his colour, should play the part of a beast of burden; nor that his mind and body should be both fettered by the superior power or will of his fellow-beings.

In conclusion, and as bearing on the future prospects of the West Indies, we must take into consideration the trade they now carry on with the Canadas, by way of Halifax, N.S., and Portland. It is already an important one; and probably, if reciprocity were permitted, as is the case with our North American provinces and the United States, under the Treaty of June, 1854, it would acquire a much greater extension. The commercial benefits would be great, and reciprocal—not only as strengthening the friendly relations between our Transatlantic colonies, where the same language is spoken,

and where they are governed by the same laws, but as counterbalancing those interests by which the grasping democracy of America would willingly knit our West Indian possessions to the Union.

The subject of reciprocity has already engaged attention on the other side of the water, and circulars in reference to it have been addressed by the Canadian Committee of Trade and Commerce to the Secretaries of the British North American and to those of the British West Indian colonies, which were generally received with favour. My own conviction is, that such a measure would give a stimulus to trade, which would be speedily felt in Jamaica; and as the negroes are alive to their own interests, they would be induced to exert themselves, in order to share a portion of those benefits by which they would see their fellow-colonists were enriched.

Before I take leave of Jamaica, I must make some mention of the Press, that powerful engine which moves and directs public opinion. It is generally conducted in a manner creditable to the writers, and affords much information on local

topics. I have kept a copy of a newspaper called the *Iconomist*, headed by a Greek quotation, and the following motto :—

"Influence the people, for in the multitude all is centred."
—HERODOTUS.

Amongst many lighter articles, I find the following *jeu d'esprit*, which had some merit at the time, from portraying the expressions and the language of many of the leading characters in the House of Assembly :—

"BILL FOR THE BETTER REGULATION OF THE WEATHER.

"Mr. Panton introduced this Bill with his usual energy. He declared it was necessary for the welfare of the country—necessary for the benefit of the sugar-planter, advantageous to the coffee-grower, and imperatively required in these times of democracy and anarchy. The honourable and learned member then proposed the following Bill : 'Jamaica, S.S.—Whereas divers quantities of rain do fall in this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica, to the great injury of divers liege subjects, and to the great damage of public roads and the serious

detriment of crops; and whereas the seasons are irregular, and great mischief is unlawfully done by the elements; for remedy thereof, may it please your Most Excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and it is hereby enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Assembly of this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica, that from and after the passing of this Act, no more rain shall be allowed to fall in any one month than is particularly mentioned, stated, and set forth in the schedule to this Act annexed, and marked with the letter A.' (The next paragraph directs all public officers to order such rain to cease; and if it continue to fall one minute after this Act shall have been read, then all such rain shall be held to be a felony, punishable as hereinafter described.)

"Mr. Lowndes said he highly approved of the principle of the Bill. He wished a clause to be introduced to regulate the rising and setting of the sun.

"Mr. Bernard said he was authorized to state that the Governor was prevented by his instructions from passing any Act to regulate the sun.

"Mr. King: Does this instruction extend to the moon?

"Mr. Bernard: I can assure the honourable Member it does not.

"Mr. Berry rose and said: Mr. Speaker, at this period, such a constitutional law as is this, is called for by the exigency of the times. What, sir, is dearer to man than his property? Are we to submit to have our possessions torn from us whenever the elements choose to pour upon us? No, sir; my sacred duty to my constituents forbids. The Emperor Tacitus has wisely told us to resist disorder, and follow the example of *Quantus Cuntius;* let us leap into the gulph, rather than lead our constituents to suffer. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Kelly: Sar, if such'n a Bill no pass, I says my friends and brothers make we go through the window arter it. Sar, de light is come over we eyes, and de horizon of ignorance is darken by de ray of philosophers. (Hear, hear.)

"Mr. Manderson: Sir, I look upon this Bill as practical. If we passes the Bill, I says, 'Hurrah! for the smugglers.' If we want rain, we can import

it from Cuba, and I mean to move a bounty on it. Cuba rain is better than that of Jamaica. I trades there, and know well, sir.

"Mr. Watt: Sir, I do consider that the Bill against rain will be most useful. My estate at Lacovia is little better than a swamp.

"Mr. Robertson: It is rain which has prevented the Dickenson Charity estates from being productive.

"Mr. Hyslop: It will be necessary to have a clause authorizing the appointment of Commissioners to carry this Act into effect. [At the mention of Commissioners, Mr. Bernard and Mr. Robertson galloped off to the Governor's, Mr. Speaker Barrett previously whispering Mr. Bernard, 'Shares.']

"Mr. Hyslop, with his usual wit, remarked that the two hon. Members, in hopes to be Commissioners on the Rain Bill, had runned away.

"Mr. Mais: Thus, sir, it is when the refulgency of man's intellects is corruscating the dangers which deprive frail humanity of benefits awarded to it by the Divine hand. Thus it is that those who

understand freedom, as that of the wild antelope on the hills, seek to enervate the energies and destroy the resources of the laws—the best frame for man in his vain and sublunary state. Because they cannot obtain all, they will take nothing. Half a loaf is better than no bread.

"Mr. Lowndes asked if it was to be an annual Bill?

"Mr. Fraser said he hoped so. He did not expect to see it work, any more than the apprenticeship system. (Cries of 'Question, question.')

"Mr. Colman asked if the parish of Clarendon was to be included in the Bill?

"Mr. Panton: I can answer the hon. Member most satisfactorily. Sir, the whole island is to be benefited. I support this Bill, because, sir, it is beneficial—because, sir, it is useful—because, sir, it is advantageous—because, sir, it is serviceable. Let me not hear, sir, that the Bill will fail of its purpose. Is not an overflow of rain injurious? Is not a storm ruinous? Do not lightning and thunder blast the fair deeds of heaven? And are not mountains shaken by earthquakes? Sir, the ex-

istence of these evils we all know; we must apply a remedy; it is our duty to do so; we are bound to this; we are required to perform it as incumbent upon us, by our obligations as men, our duty as Members, and our loyalty to our King and country, and to the St. Thomas in the East Colonial Union. (Cheers.)

"The Bill was read a first time. On the motion for its second reading, the House divided—

For the Bill	21
Against it	1

"The announcement of the division was received with cheers and laughing. The Bill was then committed—Mr. Panton in the chair. The following clauses were introduced in committee, and adopted as part of the Bill:—By Mr. Lowndes: To restrain pistols from going off (against slaves) when their triggers are pulled. By Mr. Colman: To prevent thunder and lightning in Clarendon. By Mr. Grosset: To restrain hurricanes within constitutional bounds, and prohibit earthquakes altogether, with power to call in the military. By Mr. Dallas: For

the limitation of whirlwinds and waterspouts. Mr. Grosset moved to add these words—'Unless compensation be awarded.' Mr. Brown: You might as well make a law for my bulls, how many blades of grass they might eat. ('Order, order,' 'Chair,' from Panton.)—Mr. Whitaker said that as gaols were places for surgical experiment, he thought they should be excepted also from the provisions of the Bill. He could not see upon what principle a person in gaol, who was the proper subject of the surgeon's experiments, should be protected from those of the elements.—Mr. Shenton considered the exclusion unnecessary. It would be letting people understand the truth, that the Assembly legislated for itself, and not for the people. He fully recognised the principle, but considered the more secret it was kept, the better. He approved of the Bill; it was consonant to Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights.

"The Bill was then reported, and ordered to be engrossed."

Here follows a notice from a provision merchant, containing a strong hint to his debtors:—

"The Subscriber feels himself bound to give this as his last notice to those whose accounts are long overdue, and begs to intimate that unless they come forward and arrange the same, to enable him to meet his engagements, that he will sue indiscriminately. A. H. QUELLO."

Two advertisements are characteristic of the dark days before the Emancipation Bill had passed:—

"Eight dollars reward, for the apprehension of a negro woman, name Elizabeth Lindsay, well known in Spanish Town. She was the property of Mrs. Ireland, of Ireland Pen, of a yellow complexion, tall, with a long nose."

Query, was the slave, or the owner, of a saffron hue and large nasal organ?

"Six dollars, for the apprehension of that well-known runaway, William French; calls himself Britten; is very black, with thick lips and white eyes; and is very plausible, and likely to pass as free. He has on a blue jacket, and a black silk hat. A. WELLOCK."

With this I take my leave of Jamaica. I had been three years and a half in the island, during which time I had one severe attack of fever; and I was two years in Up Park Camp, the most unhealthy station in the Colonies. The climate began to affect my health, and I applied for a medical board, to be invalided and sent home. To my surprise, the members of it recommended that I should have three months' leave, for change of air to the mountains; and there being no inn or place in which I could establish myself, and not having the least fancy for sleeping *à la belle étoile*, I asked permission to return home, which was granted.

CHAPTER X.

The *General Marion* schooner—An Italian traveller—Curious tradition—Ancient household gods—Waterspouts—The heights of Neversink—New York—Overpowering heat—Wellington's old steward—Madame de La Vallette—Americanisms—The Hudson river—National militia—Return home—*Bon mot*—Sent by Lord Vivian into Wales—Stores—Present system of contract—Gibraltar—The Rock—Smuggling.

An American schooner, the *General Marion*, being about to sail for New York, I engaged a passage in her for thirty dollars, and we sailed from Kingston on 15th July, 1840. The living on board was so totally different, and so inferior to that of English vessels which take passengers, that I give the weekly bill-of-fare, as it was handed to me by the steward—

Monday—Salt beef and pudding.

Tuesday—Hashed salt beef.

Wednesday—Salt pork and beans.

Thursday—Salt beef and rice.

Friday—Salt beef, pork, and corn-meal pudding.

Saturday—Salt pork and peas.

Sunday—Newfoundland cod-fish and potatoes.

If the voyage had been of long duration, I think we must inevitably have had the scurvy; for, as will be seen, we rang the changes upon two kinds of salt meat and salt fish only, every day. The captain expressed great surprise at my ignorance, when I asked him who the General was after whom the vessel was named; for, to use his own expression, "He was one of our most distinguished men."

There was only one other passenger on board, an Italian merchant, who had just returned from Central America, whither he had gone on a commercial speculation. As he went there with the intention of visiting countries little known to Europeans, he hired or bought mules at Vera Cruz, and armed his attendants; taking with him every description of European goods that he thought would be likely to suit the taste of the

natives, with whom he purposed opening a traffic. His venture had been a successful one, and his supplies of "notions," as the Americans would say, were exchanged for gold ornaments and jewels, which had probably come down to their possessors as heirlooms from their ancestors, who had established themselves in the country when it was first colonized by Europeans. He had, amongst other valuables, a tiara of pure gold, studded with fine emeralds, and many curious golden household deities and ornaments that once belonged to the Aztecs.

He told me of a tradition current amongst the Indians of the interior, that when the Spaniards advanced into the interior of the country, the Incas, or chiefs, formed long lines of men, in single file, across the hills and valleys into the far west, and that by this means their most valuable jewels and treasures were handed from one to the other, and saved from the foreign invaders. As the conquerors pursued their onward course, they reached some of the places in which these riches were deposited; and the natives, rather than allow their

spoilers to become possessed of them, threw as many as they could not carry away into the rivers. Acting upon this hint, he dragged some of them, and he was successful in recovering many interesting relics of races whose history is so obscure. Some were household deities apparently, not unlike those to be met with in India, China, or Japan.

What became of the collection I know not; but I understood he purposed sending the greater part of it to his father, in Tuscany, who had formed a museum from his numerous contributions collected in other travels in distant lands.

The Indian races, who are supposed to have come down from the Mississippi, and occupied that part of South America going by the name of Mexico, must have attained a high degree of civilization, and anything which throws light upon their history must be valuable. These objects of antiquity, therefore, acquired a great additional interest in my eyes from that circumstance.

I was not sorry to get out of the Gulf of Florida, for during the time we were in it, a great deal of

thunder and lightning prevailed; and one day we were surrounded by waterspouts, which looked very threatening, but passed away to leeward without injuring us. We made the heights of Neversink in the evening, and a fast-sailing pilot-boat ran alongside to put a pilot on board, who soon after brought the vessel to anchor. Before proceeding to New York, we were visited by the Custom-house officers; and the person who had to examine my luggage happening to be a great fancier of curious walking-sticks, I gave him one out of a bundle I had brought with me from Jamaica. He had some from all parts of the world, and he was bent upon increasing his store whenever the opportunity offered.

I was much struck with the approach to the city, and on landing I could have fancied myself at home, for I saw nothing but familiar faces, and the people looking so like those of Liverpool, that I was heartily glad I had taken that route to England.

The general appearance of New York is that of an improved English town, with all its bustle and

movement. There is the same prodigious commercial activity and enterprise as in the mother-country, but the people seem to begin life and enter into business at an earlier age than they do in England.

When we reflect upon the comparatively short space of time that the United States have been peopled from Europe, it is perfectly miraculous the immense strides the Anglo-Saxon race has made in a progressive career of prosperity. Civilization, which came from the East, has always taken a westerly course; and it would almost appear as if it were gradually encircling the globe, and going back to the place from whence it started. By the admission of California into the Union, it has already reached the Pacific shores of the North American Continent; and recent occurrences in China, Japan, and elsewhere, would lead one to suppose that, with the extension of commercial intercourse, Eastern nations, which have hitherto been so carefully preserved from contact with foreigners, must ultimately follow in the wake of those who are more enlightened than themselves.

I found the heat overpowering in New York, and much more oppressive than that of Jamaica in the month of August, for there the sea breeze blows all day, and tempers the air. The bed-rooms are small, and not well ventilated, which makes the city an unpleasant residence during the hot months of the year. Anxious to see as much of the Americans as I could, I went to reside at an hotel in Broadway—the "Howard"—and there I found few but natives, and the house was always full. Every day we sat down not less than 120 at dinner, which was served remarkably well, and liberally. There were no American, but three French cooks in the establishment. What surprised me most was the indecent haste with which the guests served themselves, and swallowed whatever they took. In less than a quarter of an hour the greater portion of them had finished their dinner, and had retired to the bar-room, in a lower part of the house, to drink gin-sling, cock-tail, sherry cobler, and mint julep, and to smoke their cigars. I was left nearly alone, as I partook of the good things leisurely.

The waiters were all coloured people, or blacks, and they were under the superintendence and direction of a white man, who was manager of the hotel, and with whom I entered into conversation. He was a Dutchman by birth, and his history, as he gave it me, was a curious one. He had been constantly attendant on the Duke of Wellington throughout the Peninsular campaigns. He was with him in France, at the Congress of Vienna, and elsewhere. He told me some interesting stories of his Grace, and, amongst others, one that rather surprised me. He said that the Duke was well aware, before the event, that Madame de La Vallette intended to endeavour to save her husband's life; for that he had himself admitted her, late on the night previous to his escape, at the British Embassy, and that he ushered her into the presence of the Duke, who was prepared to see and receive her. What passed he knew not; but she remained a considerable time with him, and he again conducted her out. If his statement be true, it would almost lead me to believe that the French authorities had connived at the escape of her husband; for, as he

put on his wife's clothes, they must have been very negligent and inattentive to their duty if they did not.

The Americans are generally inquisitive, and one of the residents in the hotel came up to me, saying, with their usual nasal accent—"I say, stranger, what section of the States are you from?"—"I am from none of them," I replied. "Ah, I guess you're a Britisher, so you must come and take a glass of mint julep with me." I of course assented, and found my new acquaintance a well-meaning person, though not of very polished manners.

There is considerable humour in some of their remarks, and there are certain shades of it so peculiar to our cousins, that they may be called Americanisms—such as a tenor singing so high, that the audience went on to a neighbouring hill to hear him; and a bass singing so low, that the spectators quitted the theatre to walk in the Broadway till his voice came back again. Here is an attempt at a *jeu d'esprit*. A lady sitting by an open window on a hot day, a gentleman offered to

shut the lattice: "No, sir," she replied; "I would rather have a little sun than no heir at all!"

The women dress after Parisian models, and are pleasing, amiable, and good-looking; but their beauty is a good deal that of youth, and, like roses, they bloom but for a brief period, and then fade away. Whether it be caused by the manner of living, the little exercise they take, or the changeable nature of the climate, owing to the geographical formation of the country—the mountains running north and south, and every change of wind bringing great heat or severe cold—I cannot tell; but they are generally delicate, and often narrow-chested. Young men begin the world at an age when, in England, those of the same age would not be out of leading-strings. In fact, the American Republic is, without exception, the most go-ahead nation in the universe.

I was told that there are at least 2000 people who come to New York daily from all parts of the Union, many of whom have no fixed projects; and having reached the limits of their own territory, they turn back again and plunge into the solitudes

of the Far West. What they will do when the land is peopled in proportion to its extent, I know not; but in all probability they will overrun Mexico and all the small republics of the South, much as the inhabitants of remote ages migrated from the shores of the Mississippi, for causes we shall never understand, to Central America.

I had just time to go up the Hudson as far as West Point, admire the beautiful scenery on both sides of the river, and see the military college at that place. The steamer was a swift one, and whenever an opposition boat came in sight, we were forced along at a high rate of speed—not, as I imagined, without some risk of being blown into the air, from the too great pressure of steam in the boilers. In America, such accidents occur so frequently that they do not create the sensation they would in England. So, too, in New York, fires take place constantly, and often burn down a block of buildings; but the occurrence is soon forgotten, and new houses rise in an incredibly short space of time on the ruins.

I had an opportunity one day of seeing some of

the State Militia corps, which bear wonderful names, such as Broadway Guards, Jagers, and so forth. They were theatrically dressed for effect, but I did not see them manœuvre, and cannot, therefore, speak of their military performances; although some one told me of a corps that was called out for exercise in a remote district, where the commanding officer gave the word, "Shoulder arms!" and immediately afterwards, "Fix bayonets!"

On the whole, I thought New York a very fine city, and an agreeable place of residence. I should have stayed there with pleasure a couple of months, but I was anxious to get back to England, and as the *British Queen* steamer was about to sail, I secured a passage in her. There was a great number of passengers; amongst others, the French Minister, with his family, from Washington, and Mrs. Fitzwilliam, who had just terminated a successful theatrical engagement in New York. The passage money, 30*l.*, included steward's fees and wines, so that drinking was going on from morning till night. This was not very pleasant, and, in

addition, the vessel itself, from being too narrow for its great length, was the most dangerous I ever sailed in; but we fortunately made a quick passage, being only fourteen days on board from New York to Blackwall.

I got on shore as quickly as I could, and had my things placed upon an omnibus, to convey me and them to the West End. There happened to be a man inside who had evidently been drinking, and he selected me as the person on whom to exercise his wit and pleasantry. He addressed me in rather an impertinent manner, as follows: "Are you in the spirit trade?"—"No," I said, in the quietest tone of voice imaginable. "In the tailoring trade?" —"No." "In the cotton trade?"—Same reply. After remaining silent a few moments, he suddenly inquired if I was aware that I was on the Equinoctial line. "No," I said, "I was not, until I saw that you were half seas over." After this, he left me in peace until I reached my destination; and I trust, courteous reader, that you are not more fatigued with the perusal of my residence in Jamaica, than I was when I again found myself

amongst my old haunts, after nearly four years of foreign travel.

I had not been long in England, before I received an intimation from the Board of Ordnance that my services were again required; and I accordingly waited upon the Master-General, Lord Vivian, who gave me instructions to proceed forthwith to Wales, where a sufficient military force was collected, to prevent the recurrence of riots similar to those in which some lives had been lost in Newport. I had charge of the barracks at Brecon and Swansea, in the southern part of the Principality, and Newtown and Montgomery, in the northern portion.

Owing to the want of sufficient barrack accommodation in these places, the detachments were either put into unoccupied factories, or, as at Swansea, into an old castle. I found the latter damp; and the others, like the generality of places in which troops are quartered in England, badly adapted for the purpose. By dint, however, of boarding the old stone walls, and introducing stoves wherever I could, I contrived to make the men as

comfortable as could be expected under the circumstances.

Public attention has of late* been drawn to the condition of soldiers, and to the barracks in which they are located. It is fortunate that such is the case, for nothing could be worse than the state they have been in up to the present time. The rooms are generally low, badly ventilated—if ventilated at all—and often over-crowded, although an order regulates the number of men in each apartment. In these specifications, however, after the size of the room has been taken, a certain space is allotted to bedsteads; but fireplaces and windows appear to have been forgotten in the calculations, so that beds are placed closer than they ought to be. It is only within the last few months that married soldiers have been allowed separate accommodation. Previously, they slept at one end of a room occupied by their comrades, and only partitioned off by rugs, blankets, or screens, which partly hid the occupants from view, but did not prevent the women and children from hearing

* This was written in the commencement of 1857.

conversations which were anything but edifying.

I cannot understand why one uniform system of construction should not be adopted for barracks, either on a large or a small scale. The requirements of troops are the same, whether it be a company, a wing, or an entire battalion. Not only should the rooms be spacious and lofty, with proper escapes for the foul air, and the admission of fresh, but there should always be lavatories for the men, who must now go in all weathers to perform their ablutions at the pumps or wells in the barrack-yard, in most of the country quarters. Owing to this want of a well-defined, systematic plan, there are constantly alterations, repairs, or improvements going on, which cost great sums of money that might be avoided, if the general arrangements were in the first instance what they ought to be. From the want of comfort, men are often driven to low inns, or beershops, where they find a good fire, and better accommodation than is ever afforded by the canteen, which is, in all cases that I have seen, badly furnished, and inconveniently placed. As is

the case in London, where the poor inhabitants of crowded courts and alleys seek the well-lighted bar of the gin palace, so also will soldiers frequent drinking places when their quarters are anything but a comfortable home.

Stores supplied by the Ordnance to the army are all contracted for, after the usual official advertisements calling for tenders have been sent in and approved. I have had a good deal of experience in the Barrack Department, and I think I am justified in saying that the present system is a bad one. The articles of most descriptions supplied by contractors are not as good as they ought to be, and in some instances are not of the material required by tender. Woollen rugs contain a good deal of cotton; the blankets are thin; the sheets very coarse; as to utensils, they were until recently of the worst description. Those sent to the Crimea prove my assertion. The mops issued to the men fall to pieces from being moth-eaten, having probably been long in store. In fact, I do not think the public gets in material the value of what is paid for in money. I do not consider the

present plan of accumulating vast quantities of supplies at the Tower or Deptford, or wherever it may be, by any means an advantageous one, for this reason: the blankets, rugs, sheets, and mops, from not being often unfolded and exposed to the air, are attacked by moths, which injure them considerably. The loss falls on the Government, and inferior articles cause discontent amongst the troops, who have to pay the full price for any they may injure.

It seems to me that, instead of contracting for everything to be sent into the depôts in London, it would be better to divide England into districts, and have separate contracts for each. Instead, then, of accumulating inconvenient quantities of stores in the metropolis, which cost a good deal of money to send to the respective stations, they would be forthcoming as required, by the barrack-masters drawing for them on the local contractors. The onus of preserving them in a state fit for use would be thrown on the manufacturer or tradesman, and the railway charges would be avoided. No complaints could be made of their quality,

because a Board, composed of the barrack-master and regimental officers, always assembles to accept or reject all articles supplied by the Barrack Department.

The way in which the linen and woollen articles are marked, injures them very much. The B. O. and broad arrow being stamped on each, and the liquid employed containing an acid, it by degrees eats through the wool and linen. As there are three marks, and troops are not bound to take any blanket, rug, or sheet with three holes in either, those returned into store are brought before a Board of Survey, and, if condemned, are torn into pieces. A contractor purchases the whole at stated prices, so much per lb., and they are delivered over to him free of cost. Sending these bundles of rags from the colonies is expensive. It would be better to weave coloured threads into the goods, so as to distinguish them as Government property.

The bedding is far from being what it ought to be at the home stations. All soldiers sleep on straw beds in England, Ireland, and Scotland; in the colonies they have hair mattresses, which are excellent. The objections to straw are numerous.

If a regiment marches into a barrack on a wet day, the straw issued for the men is carried from the barrack store to the rooms, and they must sleep on damp beds. During the daytime, the beds are folded and brought within three inches of the foot of the bedstead, the bedding being neatly packed on the top, according to a particular pattern. Until the straw becomes crushed, it requires force to bring the bed into the shape necessary to allow the bedding to be placed as required. The ticks, after having been washed, shrink, and the pressure upon them causes them to tear.

There is so little inducement held out to zealous officers to suggest alterations or improvements, that it is only by bringing such matters to public notice that they can be remedied. I myself proposed a bed stuffed with silk noils, and took a great deal of trouble to get it adopted. It was tried for three years. I had numerous testimonials in its favour, and from those who were well competent to judge of its merits. I saw one that had been in use at Chatham for sixteen months, and the soldier who slept on it told me he preferred it

to the straw. There were two hinges in the mattress, which enabled the men to make up their beds much more quickly than the present system. It was suddenly dropped, and no communication was made to me to explain why or wherefore. I calculated that it would effect a great saving; indeed, I thought that the saving would not be less than from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* a year, straw being often expensive and difficult to procure at out-stations.

All these matters, however, must, I imagine, meet with the attention they merit; and the comforts of the British soldier must be studied, to render the army what it ought to be—a desirable profession for men in the humbler walks of life.

The barrack-mastership of Gibraltar becoming vacant, Lord Vivian was pleased to offer it me, and I went there in the beginning of 1841. We have heard so much of the impregnability of that fortress, that I was rather surprised to find it in the neglected state it was at this time. The sea-line wall was much in the same condition as in the time of Queen Anne, and there were other weak points, that have since been restored and strength-

ened. Our land forces had been so much reduced, that there was scarcely a sufficient number of artillerymen in the place to man the guns on an emergency, or to have resisted a serious attack for any length of time. We trust, no doubt, to our naval superiority, and the means at our disposal for throwing in additional troops if required.

But circumstances may arise when it would be running a risk of their arriving too late. For instance, we very nearly went to war with France when M. Thiers was Prime Minister, and there was at that time a large fleet at Toulon. Supposing ten or fifteen thousand men had been put on board these vessels of war, a very few days would have brought them down to Gibraltar; and although the garrison would have done everything that was possible—as British soldiers always will—yet, to say the least of it, the assailants might have inflicted a great deal of mischief.

Important as Gibraltar is in a military point of view, it is, in addition, a place of considerable trade. It has become a smuggling depôt, from whence contraband goods are passed into Spain

in great quantities; and if a guarda costa chases a vessel employed in the illicit traffic within range of the guns of the fortress, she is immediately fired upon by our batteries. Sometimes an Andalusian, in his picturesque costume, his belt well lined with doubloons, will come into the town, make his purchases of cigars manufactured there, and then pass them over the boundary-line by bribing the Custom-house officials. On other occasions, fast sailing-boats convey merchandize, by preconcerted arrangements, to some particular spot on the coast, where numerous mounted men are in waiting to receive and carry off the goods into the interior. No wonder, then, that the Spanish finances should always be in so deplorable a state. The smuggler pockets a revenue that ought to go into the public treasury; and England not only tolerates this violation of Spanish laws, but actually protects those who infringe them. It is carrying out the principles of Free Trade in the widest acceptation of the term.

CHAPTER XI.

Casemated barracks—Serious illness: ordered home by a medical board—Appointed to Ireland—Leave the Ordnance—Join the militia—Aldershott: life in the huts—Hadji Baba's English—Formation of the club—Goodwood—An old fox-hunter: his epitaph—Captain Charles Hesse—The Queen of Naples—Fatal duel—The last days of Almack's—The lady patronesses—Rules of admission.

I FOUND the troops, in some instances, badly lodged, as in the casemated battery on the sea-wall, there being no ventilation in the arched rooms—or, more properly speaking, cellars—and no light but what came through the entrance to them. In the summer months, the men complained of the heat being oppressive, and multitudes of rats infested these quarters,—so that they were obliged to close the doors to keep them out, and then the atmosphere was suffocating. If there had been no remedy for this, I should have looked upon it as one of those chances to which a soldier is always

liable on service; but there were other similar quarters, comparatively good, which might easily have been converted into barracks at no expense. These, however, were let by the Board of Ordnance to merchants in the town, to store their goods.

No doubt, the expenditure of every public department should be reduced as low as possible consistently with the requirements of the service; but I am sure there is no real economy in neglecting the comforts of troops. A revenue, it is true, is obtained from the unoccupied rooms; but the loss of men who get fever from dwelling in unhealthy places, and who are often invalided, or die, must counterbalance the profits derived for rents for their present use. Of all the climates to which I have been subjected, I know of none more trying to some constitutions than that of Gibraltar, nor one in which it is more necessary to attend to the localities in which soldiers are stationed.

The easterly wind, which blows for many months of the year, has a peculiar influence on animal life, as well as inanimate bodies; and as long as it continues, those who are affected by it suffer greatly.

Having experienced its pernicious effect myself, I perhaps speak more feelingly on the subject than others who are proof against it, and have been more fortunate in that respect than I was. The drainage was very bad in 1841, and I, as well as others, was attacked by a fever somewhat resembling that of the Pontine Marshes. For four months I in vain struggled against the disease, and at last a medical board, assembled by order of the Governor, sent me as a last resource to England. For two whole years I was incapacitated for duty, and then being perfectly recovered, I was sent to Ireland, and again, in 1846, was transferred to the English establishment.

I had, however, seen too much of the Barrack Department to wish to remain in it; promotion amongst the officers of that Department goes entirely by interest; the pay is inadequate, and the responsibility great. There is no system of advancement for those who are entitled to it from long service;—and a man may remain all his life in such climates as that of the West Indies, without its giving him any claim to be removed to a home station. I therefore tendered

my resignation, and once more became a citizen of the world. When the Militia was re-organized, I was appointed to the majority of the Royal Cumberland Regiment, and after attending the two first annual drills, I went to the Fifth Royal Lancashire, which was permanently embodied in January, 1855.

In the commencement of May, in that year, we were ordered to Aldershott, and we took with us ten companies of 80 men, leaving a small depôt in Burnley. When we marched into the camp, we were one of the strongest battalions there. The first impression of our quarters was not a very pleasing one; it put me in mind of a new township in the back settlements of America. Two great roads intersected the south camp, but there were none finished between the lines of huts. There was not a sufficient supply of water, and what we got was drawn out of the wells by tin cans, or buckets. It was as yellow, and had nearly the consistency of pea-soup. The canal that divides the north and south camps was, therefore, resorted to by the men for a purer liquid; but the company that owns it soon put a stop to the practice, as they represented

that the barges could not float if the soldiers persisted in taking the water. They might as well have said that the same number of individuals would have drunk the contents of the New River. It answered their purpose, however, for I believe a rent was paid for the use of it afterwards.

When the weather was fine, and the wind high, clouds of dust penetrated every crevice; and when it rained, the whole place was a sea of greasy mud, ankle deep wherever there was much traffic. This arose from the heather being cleared away to form regimental parades, on which gravel had not then been spread.

On the first night of our arrival, owing to some mistake of the railway officials at Birmingham, where we changed carriages, the officers' luggage did not reach the camp at the appointed time; the consequence was, that although the men were provided with beds in their huts, the officers had none, and were obliged to pass the night outside, *au clair de la lune*. This little mishap was borne with great good-humour, although all were well pleased when the sun rose and warmed them, after their long vigil.

The field-officers had two rooms, and other officers one, of ten feet in length by nine in breadth, with an iron stove, which, if well heated, rendered the atmosphere almost unbearable, and if not replenished with fuel, left the rooms as cold as they were previously warm. The chimneys, which acted as ventilators, by having holes round the pipe, roared so when the wind was high, that we were obliged to stop them up; some who left them open, previously removing the stove to gain more space, were awoke on a rainy night by the water running down on their heads, from having placed their bedsteads underneath them.

A staff-officer was driving a pony phaeton across the broad interval that separated the lines of huts, at the upper end of the south camp, at a late hour of the evening, when suddenly the pony and the vehicle sunk so deep in the clay, that some of our men were obliged to turn out, and dig a large hole with much labour to extricate them.

Ditches intersected the ground in all directions, and many were the accidents that occurred from people tumbling into them. There was not a lamp

or gas-light in the whole camp, excepting over the guard-room doors; so that it was a matter of difficulty to move about after dark; the lines of huts being so similar, that it often occurred to those on duty, when going their rounds, to lose their way. At the mess-room breakfast, these occurrences were talked over, and afforded amusement, which was much wanting; for there was nothing whatever to dispel the monotony of the camp life.

Our messman, whose name was Baber, claimed to descend from the kings of Persia, and I used to call him Hadji Baba. His mistakes, when wishing to express himself in choice English, were very amusing, as he often said the reverse of what he intended, from using words that were beyond his comprehension. Some young officers had partaken of soda-water and sherry, when one of the party desired him to charge Lieutenant F. with it in his account. "No," said the Hadji, "I cannot think of doing such a thing, unless Lieutenant F. puts his veto on it," which raised a great laugh at the expense of the providore.

By degrees, and as the huts were finished, fresh regiments joined the Division, until at last there were 10,000 Militia assembled at Aldershott. Some of those who arrived the last, were located in the lower portion of the camp, and there they found themselves in the midst of sticky black mud, which made their quarters very damp and uncomfortable. A person told me he had often shot snipes on that part of the heath; and we were all surprised at the selection of swampy ground for building, when there were so many elevated spots in the neighbourhood belonging to the Government.

I do not think that it will be found advisable to retain troops on such a wild heath during the winter months. Nothing is learnt in that season; but it occasions a great deal of discomfort to the men, and considerable wear and tear of their clothing. During the summer months, it will doubtless become an excellent school of instruction, because there is ample room for field movements on a large scale.

The Division was out twice a week whilst we were there, and generally in the neighbourhood of

the Long Valley under Cæsar's Camp. The country-people had been in the habit of carting turf, from time immemorial, over this ground; and the ruts, which were very deep and numerous, were scarcely visible, from the heather having overgrown them. The consequence was, falls were of frequent occurrence, from the horses or their riders not seeing the grips. I nearly lost a valuable charger from sinking into a bog under Cæsar's Camp; and on the same occasion, one or two others met with the same mishap.

Although there was so large a force collected together, there was not that intercourse between the different corps that might have been expected; for we were living almost as in London, where few people know their next-door neighbour. It occurred to me, that it would be very desirable to establish a Club, where officers might meet in their leisure hours, and become acquainted. I drew up a plan, and borrowed my model from the building in the centre of Leicester Square; but finding afterwards that a dome would be very expensive, I altered it to very nearly what it now is.

It took me a long time to see the officers of the various regiments, but I received promises of support from the greater number of them; and I then proceeded to submit my proposals to General Knollys, for the approbation of the Minister for War, without whose consent no ground could be obtained for a site.* Many difficulties were raised, and at times my patience was sorely tried; but all was going on satisfactorily, when one day I saw a gentleman walking through our lines, who was evidently looking for some person's hut. I accosted him, and offered my services. He then told me he had come down to see the General, on the subject of a Club. I immediately communicated to him what I had already done, and invited him into my room to inspect the plans. They met with his approval, as being in most respects identical with his own; and from that time he left the details to my management.

The result was, that Mr. Stapleton was authorized to build and open the Club; and owing to his great energy and liberality, the fabric rose as by enchantment, and in six weeks it was furnished

and ready for occupation. It has been on many occasions a very useful establishment, and I am persuaded that if it did not exist, the want of some such place of rendezvous would be generally felt. As long as we remained in camp, I acted as honorary secretary; and I confess that I sometimes look back with pleasure to having been the promoter of an institution that will, I hope, conduce to the comfort and sociability of the officers quartered at Aldershott.

Every fresh post from the East brought intelligence of serious losses sustained by the regiments composing the Crimean army; consequently, volunteers from the Militia were in great request, and the men came forward freely, offering their services either collectively, or for corps selected by themselves. The ranks of the army were thus speedily filled up by drilled soldiers, many of whom perished in the trenches, on the glorious field of Inkermann, or from fatigue and exposure. Under ordinary circumstances, those who go into the Line prefer regiments that may be on the Indian establishment, from an idea that the

pay is higher, and the advantages greater, than at other foreign stations. Fresh provisions may be cheaper, perhaps, than in England, but the great heat of the climate will not admit of their being kept; so that the soldier who is married must consume during the day what he purchases for his family, or it becomes useless. There are the half batta and the full batta stations, the former being within a radius of two hundred miles from Calcutta.

The truth is, the pay of the soldier is precisely the same as in England; and, in order to illustrate this, I may mention, that the value of a rupee is about two shillings English money—one rupee is sixteen annas, and one anna is twelve pice. The daily sum received by a private is thus accounted for:—

	A.	P.
Free Rations .	3	4
Pay . . .	5	4 $\frac{12}{31}$
Total . .	8	8 $\frac{12}{31}$ = 1*s.* 1*d.*

They are better off in one respect—viz., that twelve married women per company are allowed,

instead of six; and they receive assistance from the Government, amounting to 10*s.* per month each, besides 5*s.* per month for each legitimate child under fourteen years of age.

During my stay here, I was invited by my old friend, Lord William Lennox, to visit Goodwood; and there I had an opportunity of enjoying those old English sports to which I had long been a stranger. I pass over the races, because every one has seen them, and appreciates the excellent and liberal arrangements for the amusement and comfort of his visitors displayed by the gallant and noble owner; but a record of the faithful services of an old and valued servant was pointed out to me, which is worthy of mention in these days, when so few domestics devote their lives to the family in which they first engaged themselves. It is a simple tombstone, on which the following testimony of his worth is carved:—

"Near this place lies interred
THOMAS JOHNSON,
Who departed this life at Charlton,
December 20, 1744.

From his early inclination to foxhounds, he soon became an experienced huntsman. His knowledge of his profession, wherein he had no superior, and hardly an equal, joined to his honesty in every other particular, recommended him to the service, and gained him the approbation, of several of the nobility and gentry. Among those were the Lord Conway, the Earl of Cardigan, the Lord Gower, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Honourable Mr. Spencer. The last master whom he served was Charles, Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, who erected this monument to the memory of a good and faithful servant, as a reward to the deceased, and an incitement to the living.

'Go, and do thou likewise.'—Luke x. 37.

Here Johnson lies. What huntsman can deny
Old honest Tom the tribute of a sigh?
Deaf is that ear which caught the op'ning sound—
Dumb is that tongue which cheer'd the hills around!
Unpleasant truth! Death hunts us from our birth,
In view; and men, like foxes, take to earth."

In a previous chapter I have mentioned my late brother-in-law, Charles Hesse; and on my return to Aldershott, I received news from Naples of the death of his son, an only child, who was residing there with Mr. Craven. His father (as is well known) was shot in a duel at Paris, by the Comte Leon. No man had seen more of polished society, or was more admired for his many amiable quali-

ties, than poor Hesse. His family, of noble origin, resided in Berlin; and when the Duke of York went to Flanders, and was in command of the Allied forces, his father and mother—the former of whom held a high post in the Prussian army—were on terms of great intimacy with his Royal Highness.

After the return of the Duke of York to England, the Margravine of Anspach, who was an intimate friend of Hesse's family, wrote to him soliciting a commission for her *protégé* in the English army. Charles Hesse was studying at the time under a private tutor in Edinburgh. The Duke of York, imagining from the style of the Margravine's letter that the interest she took in the youth was rather that of a relative than of a mere acquaintance or friend, replied immediately in the affirmative, and offered him a commission in the cavalry. Strange to say, the innocent Margravine entertained an equally mistaken notion that the newly-appointed cornet was of Royal extraction.

Whilst in the Staff corps, and in the 18th Hussars, Hesse greatly distinguished himself in the

last years of the Peninsular war; and on his return to England he was selected as an equerry to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, in order that the young Princess Charlotte might improve in her knowledge of languages, by conversing with the equerry, who was himself master of several. He subsequently accompanied the Queen in her journey to Naples, and, as I have before stated, engaged the too celebrated Bergami, of "*non mi recordo*" fame, at Milan, as one of the domestic servants. Murat was still King, and Hesse often attended him in his hunting excursions, at which the former and his Court appeared in the costume of Henry IV. of France. After the campaign of 1815, he again joined the Queen, and was with her Majesty when she went to the House of Lords, on the day of the coronation. He had previously waited upon the Duke of York, and explained the difficult situation in which he was placed. On the one hand, he knew he should incur his Majesty's displeasure if he retained his appointment in the Queen's household; and on the other, he felt that he could not desert a Royal personage

from whom he had at all times received marks of the greatest kindness.

The Duke saw, and apparently felt for, his position, but could give him no orders on the subject. He went, therefore, to the coronation with the Queen, and remained her faithful equerry to the last. George the Fourth never forgave this, for he was bitter in his resentments; and at the first levee after that remarkable ceremony, Hesse, who attended to pay his respects, was treated very unceremoniously, the King turning his back on him. He immediately resigned his commission, and retired into private life, residing partly on the Continent, and occasionally in England. The Duke of York and the Duke of Sussex, however, still continued to treat him with the same kindness that he had at all times experienced at their hands.

A few months after the death of Queen Caroline, he married my sister; and, singularly enough, on the day of the funeral I was with her in a house in Park-lane, and, as the procession passed, I called her attention to Hesse, who, in his hussar uniform, was in one of the carriages that followed the hearse,

saying at the same time, "That is just the sort of person I should like you to have for a husband." I little thought that such an event was even probable.

The fashionable gossip of the day was, that at one time the Queen of Naples, wife of Ferdinand, had entertained a special regard for him, which his pleasing exterior and fascinating manners may in some measure account for; and that the Government had hinted to him that it was desirable he should quit the Neapolitan territories. Be that as it may, the matter was almost forgotten, when a circumstance occurred, soon after Hesse's marriage, which again brought the subject on the *tapis*. He had been but a short time in Paris, when a ball was given by the Duke of Fernan-Nunez, Spanish Ambassador at the French Court, to the Queen of Naples, then on a visit to her relatives at the Tuileries. The newly-married couple were invited, and as they were passing from one of the *salons* to another, they met her Majesty, who instantly recognised Hesse. The Queen was so surprised, that she involuntarily exclaimed, "Eh! mon Dieu,

voilà Charles!" and her emotion was so great, that her attendants thought her seriously indisposed. She shortly after retired, no one understanding the cause of her sudden illness.

In the year 1832, when I was passing through Paris, on my way to the Brazils, I heard all the circumstances connected with his quarrel with the Count Leon. They have already appeared in print, and I need not allude to them here further than to say, that in my opinion, and that of others at the time, he had done all that was possible under the circumstances, and that as his adversary had in the first instance refused the meeting, he had better have let the matter drop. The dispute, unfortunately, did not rest here; a week after my departure, they fought with pistols in the wood of Vincennes, the result being, that Hesse was carried mortally wounded to an inn in the neighbourhood, where he expired thirty-six hours afterwards.

The circumstances connected with his untimely end are curious, and tend to prove that a vital injury may be inflicted, though the person wounded may not feel its effects at the moment. When the

parties came to the place of rendezvous, my brother-in-law had a small Malacca cane in his hand, which he stuck into the ground, remarking that the spot where they then were would do as well as any other. His adversary's seconds consented, and they took up their respective stations. It unfortunately happened that there was a white wall behind Hesse, which made his figure more conspicuous, and gave the Count a certain advantage in taking aim.

The terms of the duel were, that they were to be placed at a distance of thirty paces from each other, and when ready, to advance and fire independently, without any word of command. For two minutes at least they levelled their pistols, and then, as if by mutual consent, lowered them, and advanced three paces. The Count was the first to fire, the ball taking effect in Hesse's chest, and passing downwards; but so little was he aware that he was even wounded, that he turned with a smile on his countenance towards his seconds, as much as to say, "It is now my turn;" at the same moment he dropped to the ground, his pistol ex-

ploding as he fell, and the ball passing through the Count's hat.

Being so well known, his death caused considerable sensation in Paris. Great commiseration was felt for my sister and her child; and the kindness of Lord and Lady Granville, his Lordship being at the time Ambassador to the French Court, was unbounded.

Turning from this melancholy subject, I must not omit, as chronicling many phases I have witnessed in society, one that marked quite an *époque* in that of London—I allude to the last days of the Almack's balls, held at Willis's Rooms, in St. James's. It is now just five years since these agreeable and aristocratic meetings, after lingering on for some time, ceased altogether. They were always remarkable for their exclusiveness; and perhaps the fact of various classes of society now intermingling more than they did in former years, may be one of the causes of their no longer meeting with the support they deserved. If the walls of the spacious rooms in which the balls were held, could speak, what interesting tales might they not

narrate of broken promises, of vows fulfilled, of happy matches, and ill-assorted unions! It was here that the *élite* of the aristocracy, and the families of the country gentry who came to town for the season, met to consolidate old friendships, or form new acquaintances; and a flirtation commenced at Almack's often ended by a marriage in the country residence of the noble or the squire, when all the world left London, in August, to enjoy the sport of grouse-shooting.

As it was by no means an easy matter to obtain admittance into this select society, it became an object of ambition, on the part of the mammas, to see their daughters there; and great were the exertions they made and the interest they used to gain their point. The balls for many years were held on the Wednesday, but for some reason or other they were changed to Thursday. A committee, consisting of the leading personages of the day, met at stated times to settle the lists of subscribers, the most remarkable being the Countess of Jersey, Lady Castlereagh, Lady Gwydyr; the Princess Lieven, wife of the Russian Ambassador;

Lady Tankerville, and Lady Palmerston. On these ladies devolved the task of selecting names from the numerous list of applicants. They were as absolute in their decrees, they exercised as unlimited a power over the votaries of fashion, as ever the Council of Ten did over the lieges of Venice in the olden time. To be seen at Almack's was a passport to the best houses in London.

The rules of admission twenty years ago forbade any lady patroness giving a subscription or a ticket to any lady she did not visit, or to any gentleman who was not introduced to her by a lady who was upon her visiting list, and no more than three ladies of a family could be upon the lists at the same time. No lady or gentleman's name could continue on that of the same patroness for more than one set of balls. No gentlemen's tickets could be transferred; nor could ladies procure them for their female friends, nor gentlemen for gentlemen. A mother might give hers, however, to her daughter, or one unmarried sister to another. Subscribers who were prevented coming, were requested to give notice to the lady patronesses on

the day of the ball, by two o'clock, at Willis's Rooms, that the vacancies might be filled up. Applications for tickets were not entertained at the private residence of any lady patroness, in consequence of notes being lost or mislaid. I suppose there were some persons who had a numerous progeny, and brought too many daughters, for another rule prohibited the admittance of more than three ladies of the same family. The rooms were lighted up at half-past ten o'clock, and, by an express order of the lady patronesses, no one was admitted after twelve except members of both Houses of Parliament, who might be detained there *on business*. It was said that the Duke of Wellington himself once came later; and so stringent were the instructions to the door-keepers, that he was obliged to beat a retreat, for the first time in his life since that of Burgos.

In addition to the many regulations I have cited above, it was necessary that all applications from new subscribers should be submitted for the concurrence of all the lady patronesses. Fenced in as these meetings were by such restrictions, it is

not to be wondered at that they were so select and exclusive. It was quite a labour to ascertain the result of an application for tickets. When the anxious inquirer went to Willis's Rooms to learn the decision in his own case, the inflexible official would have fifty reasons for not giving a decided answer—sometimes, their ladyships were deliberating; at others, Lady This or Lady the Other had not attended the meeting, and no answer could be given till the following day. When it happened to be an adverse decision, Mr. Willis, the secretary, blandly smiling, would communicate the disagreeable intelligence with so much of the *suaviter in modo*, that the applicant, although disappointed, would go away satisfied his request had been duly and properly considered, and that his non-success was attributable to the numerous demands for tickets, or from circumstances over which these powerful ladies had no control.

So attractive, moreover, were these balls—so entirely did they bring together all the beauty and fashion of London, that few in the higher circles ever ventured to have a party on the same evening;

the *salons* would have been comparatively deserted until after Almack's was over. The dances were always the same—quadrilles, the slow German waltz, and occasionally (at the close of the evening) the cotillon, or the old-fashioned Sir Roger de Coverley. Collinet's band attended, led by him on the flageolet, for which he had a remarkable talent. I am speaking of what was the case many years ago; and as I have been a good deal out of England in the latter years of Almack's, perhaps other leaders and other more modern dances may have been introduced.

It is more than probable that eventually these agreeable balls may be resuscitated. The lady patronesses never formally resigned their arduous committeeship; and as many persons would gladly see them revived, the rules I have given at length above may serve to facilitate future arrangements. We have Caledonian and other balls, it is true, in the same locality, but they are no longer confined entirely to the highest circles. It may or it may not be an advantage to break through the exclu-

siveness of caste; but, certainly, the polished manners and high breeding of the frequenters of Willis's Rooms gave a tone to all other similar meetings, which had a favourable influence on society generally.

CHAPTER XII.

Episode in the career of a Crimean officer—An unexpected rencontre—Romance of real life—Leave Aldershott for Clonmel—Conclusion.

DURING the time I was quartered at Aldershott, I accidentally renewed my acquaintance with a person whom I had known years before in France. From her lips I heard the following narrative of an episode in the short career of an officer killed in the Crimea, which I give verbatim, as a romance of real life. I must prelude it by stating how I became acquainted with two of the personages that figure in my story.

I was travelling on one occasion from Chalons to Paris, when, on reaching Tonnerre, all the passengers by the diligence descended at the Hotel de la Poste to sup. Not feeling inclined to indulge

in the *pot au feu*, or the many good things which were laid out on the table for those who chose to partake of them, I went to warm myself by the wood fire at the further end of the room. On an old-fashioned Utrecht velvet chair sat a lady of middle age, in deep mourning, whom I immediately knew to be English, and with her was a little girl, whose infantine beauty struck me so much, that I made some commonplace remark, and entered into conversation with them. Something in the manner and appearance of the elder recalled to my recollection a former acquaintance, and I intimated to her that I fancied we were not altogether strangers to each other. However, it proved I was mistaken, as she had no recollection of me whatever; but from what she said, I ascertained that they were from Vienna, and intended passing the night at Tonnerre.

In the course of conversation, I had just heard sufficient of her previous history to interest me, and wish to know more, when the conductor entered to tell us the horses were ready, and we

must be off. I had therefore only time to take a hasty leave of my new acquaintances, before I again found myself seated in the diligence, and on my way to Paris. I racked my brain in vain to recal to my recollection any circumstances that would give a clue to the identity of the person who had so much excited my curiosity. The little she had said only satisfied me that she had seen better days, and that, after undergoing many trials, she was on her way to England with the little child, her niece. Years passed away, and the occurrence was almost forgotten; indeed, I had long ceased to think on the subject.

It happened, however, that one day I took a lengthened ride from Aldershott, and on arriving in a retired village near which I had some visits to pay, I put up my horse to bait at a roadside inn. Houses were scarce in the neighbourhood of the camp; and although I was many miles from it, I took a survey of those in and about the place, thinking I might find something that would suit any brother officer in want of one. I had strolled about for some time, when my attention was drawn

to a pretty cottage, covered with jessamine, and embedded in trees and shrubs. Seeing a card in the window announcing lodgings to let, I went up the garden and knocked at the door. It was opened by a young girl, simply dressed, but of the most striking appearance. Her hair was of the deepest auburn; her features as well proportioned and as delicate as those of the finest Grecian statues; her mouth small; and her hands, with long tapering fingers, were what the French would call *mignonnes*.

I mentioned the object of my visit, when she invited me in, and immediately ran to call the landlady. No sooner did the latter enter the room, than I recognised my unknown acquaintance of years past, and my surprise was so great, that I almost forgot the business that took me to the house. She seemed pleased at the unexpected meeting, and after a lengthened conversation I retired, promising to return on some future occasion. I had refrained in the first instance from asking any indiscreet questions; but when I again saw the lady in question, in the spring of 1856, I

ventured to refer to our meeting at Tonnerre, hoping she might continue the conversation. It seemed to have partly escaped her recollection; but after reflecting a few moments, Mrs. Vincent—for such was her name—thus continued the narrative she had commenced, and in which she was interrupted, as I have before mentioned :—

"The interest you have shown, and still take, in me and mine, inspires me with confidence, and induces me to make you acquainted with some circumstances that will probably appear both romantic and improbable, but which, you may be assured, are perfectly true. Before doing so, however, I must explain that when we first met I had just lost my husband, who was engaged in an extensive manufactory in Bohemia; and that the little girl who then accompanied me is no other than the young person you have noticed, and who still resides with me. Her father died soon after she was born; and her mother, my sister, marrying again with a man of an inferior station in life, the child was by her placed under my charge, and I took her with me to the Continent.

"With the small income I possess, I found my circumstances too straitened, after my return to England, to support us both without some addition to it, and I therefore rented this cottage, where, by letting lodgings, I have been enabled to educate her, and keep up a respectable position in society, nothing occurring to disturb the even tenor of our lives during the many years we have resided in the country. We rarely quitted this retired locality, although occasionally business took me to London; but about eighteen months since, a family with whom we were on terms of intimacy, requesting us to stay at their town house, I and my niece Alice agreed to profit by their kind offer, it being her first visit to the metropolis. We had been with them a few days, when a circumstance occurred that led to a singular correspondence between her and a young officer, then unknown to us even by name. His untimely end cut it as suddenly short as it romantically commenced. Our kind friends, anxious to amuse us in every possible manner, and to show my niece some of the gaieties of London, to which she was an entire stranger, accepted invi-

tations to a ball given in honour of a young man, heir to a good fortune, on his coming of age.

"As on all similar occasions, there were many beautiful women present who had had greater advantages than Alice, but, nevertheless, she shone pre-eminent amongst them; so much so, that she attracted the attention of many, but more particularly of a young officer on leave of absence from his regiment, who frequently danced with her during the course of the evening. She, on the other hand, was so perfectly unconscious of the sensation she created, or the impression she had made on him, that she quitted the ball with a heart as free as when she entered the room. The time of our departure drew near, and we were about to return home, when one morning Alice was as much surprised as mystified on receiving by post a letter containing the lines that follow:—

'What though we scarcely silence broke,
Our eyes a sweeter language spoke;
The tongue in flattering falsehood deals,
And tells a tale it never feels;
But souls' interpreters, the eyes,
Spurn such restraint, and scorn disguise.

And thus my glances oft convers'd,
And all my bosom felt rehears'd;
Though what they uttered I repress,
Yet I conceive thou'lt partly guess;
For as on thee my memory ponders,
Perchance to me thine also wanders.
This for myself, at least, I'll say,
Thy form appears through night, through day:
Awake, with it my fancy teems,—
In sleep, it smiles in fleeting dreams;
The vision charms the hours away,
And bids me curse Aurora's ray,
For breaking slumbers of delight
Which makes me wish for endless night:
Since, oh! whate'er my future fate,
Should grief or joy my steps await,
Tempted by love—by storms beset,
Thine image I can ne'er forget.'

"Alice was at a loss to understand from whom such an epistle could emanate, and had ransacked her memory in vain to fix suspicion upon any person in particular. She was not kept long in suspense, however; for in a few days after we had left London, our friends forwarded another letter to this effect:—

* * * *

* * * *

"'Unless the post miscarried, you will doubtless

recognise this handwriting. I have a request to make, and am wavering between two minds about making it; but I think it is not in the power of one so lovely and so gentle as yourself to refuse me, especially when I state that it is the only boon I ask in return for nearly two years of devoted, but to you unknown, affection. I am daily expecting orders to rejoin my regiment; and as I have no memento of yourself (although I need none to retain your image within my memory), yet I would crave, as perhaps a last and only request, one small tress of hair to accompany me. Do this, to relieve me from suspense. Address ORLANDO, Post-office, S. Audley-street.'

"The singularity of this demand, and the curiosity it created in the mind of Alice, had not sufficient weight with her to induce a compliance with it, and the only notice she took of the communication was the following letter:—

"'Yes, I do recognise the writing, and partly guess who the writer is; yet I cannot think of conceding the boon you ask. You may not be personally known to me; and the incognito you

seem so desirous of preserving, is quite sufficient to justify me in withholding it from a stranger.'

"In reply to this, she received another urgent appeal to her feelings, begging her to grant his request, and stating that he had been in her company for a few hours only; but that prudential motives prevented his making himself known, and that he would do so in twelve months from that time. If, however, he fell in the approaching campaign, some one would see her to communicate his name, and every particular connected with his history, and his intentions respecting her. To this she sent much the same answer as before:—

"'I can only reiterate what I have before told you, viz., that I will not comply with your request. If you cannot with prudence say who Orlando is, neither can I with prudence send you a lock of my hair. You tell me you were never in my company more than a few hours, and yet you say on another occasion you have known me nearly two years. You contradict yourself. If you confide your name to me, I will mention it

to no one but my aunt, who is perfectly cognizant of your request, and your correspondence.'

"This brought a reply, after an interval of some days, which I give verbatim:—

"'Disappointment allied to disappointment! I would not have believed you so uncompromising. I cannot for the life of me see that the most fastidious could cavil at your making the concession, on the plea that it would be an infringement on the bounds of prudence. Alas! you have no conception of the snare I am involved in. Had you any idea of its intricacy, I am sure you would not only pity, but assist me. I dare hardly whisper, in connexion with yourself, what you would have me so unceremoniously communicate. It is true that, without knowing you personally, I have seen and admired you for nearly two years; and I will, moreover, confess where I first beheld you. On a lovely summer's day, in 1852, I happened to be wandering alone in the shady glades of Windsor Great Park. A numerous group of youthful pleasure-seekers were dancing on the turf, and I particularly observed you as amongst the most joyous

of the party. I had watched all your movements for some time, when of a sudden you went to rest yourself under an old oak tree. I cautiously approached, and the fawns grazing on the rich herbage around, seeing me, bounded away without disturbing you, or attracting your attention to me. That spot will ever be present to my thoughts.

> . . . . 'Dark and deep
> Lay the oak shadows o'er the turf; so still,
> They seemed but pictured glooms; a hidden rill
> Made music, such as haunts us in a dream,
> Under the fern-tufts.'

My imagination pictured you as one of the wood-nymphs, or a Peri who had strayed to earth. Wrapped in admiration, I remained riveted to the spot, till the charm was broken by your companions, who came in search of their playmate.

"'Having explained how and where I first became enamoured of you, I will now modify the conditions contained in my last. In the place of twelve months, I will make it six. Mark the date. This, surely, will cause you to yield what I solicit. Would that I could hold out some greater induce-

ment! The general tenor of your letter leads me to form a still more exalted opinion of you than formerly; even before that, I thought you nearer perfection than any I had before seen, but now your innate goodness has endeared you to me in a still greater degree.'

"Alice was at a loss how to act with one who seemed so persevering, and, judging by his letters, so devotedly attached to her, but prudently refrained from saying more than that 'The person to whom she would send a tress of her hair, was one whom she must not only know, but esteem; that, as he refused to give his name, so also must she refuse the boon he craved.'

"Singular enough, immediately afterwards both became seriously ill; and as Orlando got better, he wrote to tell of his recovery, and anxiously inquired after Alice, who, after reassuring him as to her own state, expressed her pleasure at hearing that he, too, was convalescent, which created an impression on the mind of her unknown admirer that she was not altogether indifferent to him. In the mean time, coming events were casting their

shadows before them, and the regiment in which he served was, with many others, ordered to Malta, where 10,000 were concentrating, their future destination being Constantinople. But before leaving England, he again addressed the following lines to Alice:—

"'The day is, I trust, not far distant, when I may reveal myself to you. I am determined to be trammelled for no long period of time. Matters shall be brought to a climax; and then I can see you, and make known sentiments which, fettered as I am by the opinions and guidance of others, I cannot, with any definite hope of their being acquiesced in, give expression to. During the approaching campaign, should my life be spared, I will occasionally let you know where I am; and any little adventures that may interest you I will not fail to recount. Would that I could have taken with me that lock of hair I so much prized! It would have solaced me during many months of absence. I often picture to myself the lake near which stands your pretty cottage. If my memory serves me truly, there is a miniature waterfall, and

a fishing-temple near it; and in one particular spot (doubtless you know it), one might fancy oneself amongst the classic ruins of the Athenian Acropolis. The locality almost realizes Byron's beautiful lines:—

'A blending of all beauties,—streams and dells,
Fruit, foliage, crag, wood, corn-field, mountain, vine,
And chiefless castles, breathing stern farewells
From grey but leafy walls, where ruin grimly dwells.'

"'Since I know it is the scene of your meditations and walks, fancy will convey me there, in the midst of the trying scenes I am about to encounter; and I shall often delude myself into the idea that I am in reality the companion of your perambulations. I am sanguine enough to look forward with the liveliest hope to such an event; but (but, again) this war, which may last an indefinite period, will detain me at a distance, and for some time, at least, prevent such a consummation. Farewell, my beloved! you little know how much it costs me to write that little word. Orlando will yet prove himself worthy of your love; and in due time he will declare his name, reveal his history, and seek the hand of Alice Vincent.'

"After his departure, we heard again from him, the letter announcing his safe arrival in the East, and at the same time containing some details of the movements of the army, and the probability of his regiment being actively employed in the war. This was the last news we had direct from her unknown correspondent, and his continued silence led me to imagine that absence had caused him to reflect, and alter his views with regard to my niece. In the autumn of 1855, the post brought a letter, however, from a friend and brother officer of Orlando, conveying the melancholy intelligence of his death; and, at the same time, naming a day on which he would call and communicate his last wishes regarding Alice.

"The sequel of this strange history is as follows:—Orlando had been in all the hard work of the trenches, and was present on the 18th of June at the unsuccessful attack on the Redan, when ninety-one officers were either killed or wounded, but he miraculously escaped. On the 7th of September following, preparations were made for another serious attack, and as every one supposed there

would be bloody work on the morrow, he had made every preparation for the worst. On the 8th, the heavy rolling sound of musketry, in the direction of the Redan, gave those who were spectators of the scene to understand that a portion of our forces was endeavouring to force an entrance, whilst the French went in at the Malakoff.

"Occasionally the smoke cleared away, and then might be seen an unbroken stream of French and English wounded coming along the Middle Ravine, borne on ambulances, or in mule panniers. Amongst these was the unfortunate Orlando, who was attended by a staff surgeon as quickly as circumstances would admit, but his case was a hopeless one. In the mean time, one of his brother officers learning his dangerous state, came to minister to his wants, and ascertain his dying wishes. To him he communicated the secret of his love for, and correspondence with, Alice, earnestly entreating him to place on her finger the signet ring he always wore; and at the same time to reveal his real name, and assure her of his honourable intentions and un-

dying affection. He lived but a few hours, and his remains were deposited in the cemetery on Cathcart's Hill, a simple cross alone marking the spot in which he lies interred.

"In compliance with his particular request, the last letter he had received from Alice was placed on his breast in the coffin; and amongst his effects, a packet was found containing all their correspondence, readdressed to her, with this line in Italian, in his own handwriting, on the envelope—'*Da consignarsi sol dopo la morte.*'

"His friend, on returning to England, in due time carried out his last wishes and instructions; and it was from him that we learnt the real name of Orlando, and the reasons which had prevented him from disclosing it, proving the truth of the old French adage—'*Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.*' "

If my readers should feel any desire to know more of the fortunes of the heroine of this tale, I am enabled to gratify their curiosity. The bearer of the ring, equally fascinated, but more fortunate than his deceased friend, wooed and won the pretty re-

cluse. In the autumn of 1856 they proceeded overland to India, where her husband's regiment was stationed. When the mutiny broke out, they were in the North-Western Provinces; and after escaping many dangers, and undergoing much suffering, I am happy to add, that amongst those who reached Calcutta in safety, where a hospitable welcome awaited her, was the fair Alice.

In November, 1855, my regiment received orders to move to Ireland, and we were sent, *viâ* Liverpool and Dublin, to Clonmel, without halting at any of the intermediate stations. It was a forced journey, for I cannot call it a march, if ever a regiment made one; and I should like the person who ordered it, to try it himself: he would then have a more correct idea of distances than he could have had when the instructions were issued. Having passed the winter there, we were again moved to Dublin; and in May, 1856, to Burnley, where, on the 6th of the following month, the disembodiment of the corps took place. In one year, we had given 550 well-drilled men to the Cavalry, the Guards, and the Line; and notwithstanding these large

drafts, the regiment numbered 640 of all ranks when our services were no longer required.

If any proof were necessary of the importance of the Militia, this fact would sufficiently show it; but ours was not a singular instance, many other corps having given volunteers to the regular army in equal numbers, or in a relative proportion to their strength. I cannot refrain from remarking, that little consideration was shown by the Government to the embodied regiments of Militia, when they disbanded them, and sent the men to their homes.

In ordinary life, if a servant does his duty faithfully to his employers, the latter would not think of dismissing him without due notice. If, however, circumstances obliged him to do so, he would be bound to give him a month's wages in advance. If he acted otherwise, the servant would have his remedy, and could enforce his claim in the County Court. The disembodied Militiamen got a week's notice only, that their services were no longer required, and they were paid up to the day on which they were sent to their homes inclusive.

The consequence of this was, that those who had been employed in factories, and wished to re-enter them, had no means of purchasing clothing to appear before their former masters—and they went away in threadbare shell-jackets and trousers—the average pay handed over to each private not amounting to thirteen shillings. The men complained loudly of this, and expressed themselves strongly on the treatment they experienced. I cannot but think that it was a very impolitic measure, because their friends and acquaintances amongst those classes from which recruits for the army are obtained, seeing the unceremonious way in which they were deprived of an occupation, and placed in a worse position than before they entered the Militia, naturally felt disinclined to come forward and enrol themselves in its ranks.

It is to that constitutional force that we must look for keeping up a regular supply of strong, able-bodied men for the regular army, in the event of any great emergency; and therefore everything should be done to make it a desirable occupation.

The change from active service to the monotony

of private life, without an occupation, was regretted by those who had devoted themselves to their military duties, and by no one more than myself. These reminiscences have since enabled me to pass away many an idle hour; although, in justice to myself, I must add that, owing to the loss of some of my notes, they are partly compiled from memory. This will account for any error that may have crept into a narrative of events that have come under my notice during the last forty years.

Before putting down my pen, I involuntarily take a last long lingering look at the past, and search in vain for the greater number of those who started with me in the morning of life. Some are gone to the silent tomb; others I have lost sight of; many have forgotten me. "You will, perhaps, call these melancholy reflections; but they are not so. There is a quiet after the abandoning of pursuits, something like the rest that follows a laborious day."*

I am quite sure that there are but few of us who would not act very differently if we had to live the

* Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

past over again: I, too, with all my philosophy, involuntarily conjure up the many opportunities of benefiting myself I have neglected, the many years of my life unprofitably spent, and

"I ponder o'er crush'd hopes, and race o'errun,
And good I did not, which I might have done."

THE END.

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